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THE

WORKS

IN

VERSE AND PROSE COMPLETE

OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

FULKE GREVILLE, LORD BROOKE:

FOR THE

FIRST TIME COLLECTED AND EDITED:

WITH

Memorial-Introduction: Essay, critical and elucidatory:

AND NOTES.

BY THE

REV. ALEXANDER B. GROSART,

ST. GEORGE'S, BLACKBURN, LANCASHIRE.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

CONTAINING

MEMORIAL-INTRODUCTION—
POEMS OF MONARCHY—
AND
TREATISE OF RELIGION.

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William Aldis Wright, M.A.,

LIBRARIAN OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

AND

William George Clark, M.A.,

SENIOR FELLOW AND VICE-MASTER OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

My "VERIE GOODE FREENDS"

—Adopting the old greeting in the old spelling of Bacon and Milton, as it liketh me to keep up the old, kindly, good-mannered custom of an Epistle-dedicatory—

I inscribe to You

this first collective edition of the Works of

Sir Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke:

to one, as to a personal friend—and so named first—inevitably helpful in all scholarly and well-read, and unostentatious and pleasant ways, asked and unasked, all through my labours on these Worthies: to both, as never to be disjoined in thought or regard or gratitude, while the Cambridge Shakespeare is remembered; and that must be so long as Shakespeare is.

I know what my own lesser editing has cost me, and so can estimate somewhat of the unshewn and unshewy toil behind the visible pages; the

260250

wide search and research in winnowing and sifting acres of commentary for handfuls, even solitary ears and grains; the re-turning to, or over-turning of, previous conclusions, as patience of inlook yielded deeper insight; the demands on long-suffering and calm, alertness and meditativeness combined, for decision among high-named authorities; the brain-power that asserts itself robustly as philosophical and dealing with thought, not merely philological and a slave to the printed, that is (often) mis-printed word; and the fine enthusiasm that regards all drudgery of labour as so much play, in that it is for the honour of him who is not only the most manifold, the supreme mind of all literature beneath the divine, but one free to be loved by the humblest, through the undying '*gentle*' of all his contemporaries. For the IDEA and ideal of the Cambridge Shakespeare and their splendid fulfilment—for your patience and thoroughness of collation—for your ripeness and richness with brevity, of annotation—for your suggestiveness and modesty of emendation in self-revealing corrupt texts—for your tact and reverence of acceptance of what was written, as it was written, as against the foremost critical names—for your incomparable success in winning the allegiance of Shakespeareans all over the civilized world—I

can't sufficiently thank you. I have wished to do it, however inadequately: and feel glad, perchance proud, of the present opportunity. All the more, that such opportunity comes through my seeking to revive the great name of a masterful intellect by a worthy edition of his complete Works.

I ask your gracious acceptance of this Dedication: and so place the deep and wise books in your hands, as in the hands of '*stayed* heads' and 'judgements', as ancient Arthur Golding puts it:

"Whoso doth attempt the Author's works to read
Must bring with him a stayed head, and judgement to proceed;
For as there be most wholesome hests and precepts to be found,
So are there rocks and shallow shelves to run the ship aground."

Your well-wishing Honourer,
ALEXANDER B. GROSART.

St. George's, Blackburn, Lancashire.
4th April, 1870.

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Prefatory Note.

LORD BROOKE published nothing considerable himself. The "Paradise of Dainty Devices" (1576) and "Phœnix Nest" (1593) and "English Helicon" (1600) furnish a few love and elegiac verses — given among his minor pieces—but it is not known that they appeared with his sanction; and indeed I am very sure that the little piece in the "Dainty Devices" is not his. It is certain that the poem-play 'Mustapha' of 1609, was surreptitious. Thus the Works throughout were POSTHUMOUS: with this vital difference, however, between them and ordinary 'orphane books'—as your old Editors pathetically designate "Remaines" found in venerable desks—that all or nearly all were intended by himself to be produced to the world. This has been recently ascertained, in confirmation of a current tradition and epistles-dedicatory. For among the BRIGHT MSS., sold by Messrs.

Sotheby in 1844, were six thin folios, which are described as containing the whole of the Poetry of the folio of 1633 and of the "Remains" (1670) and not improbably the (so-called) Life of Sir Philip Sidney. This collection consisted—it would appear—of a fair transcript of the Works, *carefully read and corrected by the Author*. It was purchased, according to the marked Sale-catalogue in the British Museum, by Mr. Thomas Thorpe, Bookseller, for £11 11s; but I have fruitlessly sought in all likely directions to get at the present possessor. I should greatly have liked to collate the printed text with the prepared manuscript copy, albeit save for possible clearing up of occasional obscurities, the loss is the less, in that the printed volumes seem to have been taken from these identical transcripts, or at least from authoritative Manuscripts. In Mr. Corser's "Anglo-Poetica" (*s. n.*) mention is made of a Manuscript of the Poems of Monarchy in posesssion of the Earl of Oxford. This earldom is now extinct, and I have failed to trace it further.

In this first collective edition, the entire extant Works of Lord Brooke in Verse and Prose are reproduced in integrity. That is to say—as in all my Worthies—I adhere strictly to the text and orthography of the original issues as above enumer-

ated, only lessening italics and capitals occasionally, and making the strangely confused and confusing punctuation, as uniform as possible. I have chosen rather to err in excess of retention of italics where the Author designed thereby to emphazize a sentiment. All names of God—noun and pronoun—and of personifications, have capitals. When an opinion or saying is put into the mouth of a given individual the usual quotation-marks " " appear in the original. Rarely is the opinion or saying so enclosed a quotation: and to distinguish therefrom, I have adopted the single comma ' '. Throughout I shun modernisation—such as Southey's here, whose abounding misprints are shewn in the foot-notes in their places—of orthography and structure of phrase, as rendering a book valueless to the student of our early Literature and Language, and as spoiling it—much as your shallow Restorers do in laying unhallowed hands on our historic cathedrals and monuments, leaving them raw and a-cold.

In no fewer than three cases, viz., in 'MUSTAPHA' and 'Life of SIDNEY' and 'LETTER to VARNEY' or Verney, I have had the advantage of collations of contemporary MSS. The most cursory examination will shew that the MS of the Life of Sidney is of the rarest interest and value. I hesitate not

to say that until now this remarkable memorial of two remarkable men never has been fairly put before the world. Omissions of considerable extent and of special significance are for the first time inserted, blunders in misreading of the most flagrant kind are for the first time corrected, while there are many new and noticeable various readings and supplementary notes. For the collation of this invaluable MS I am indebted—as for unfailing help and sympathy otherwise all along—to my friend Mr. W. Aldis Wright, M.A., Cambridge.

In all the copies of the folio of 1633 that have come down to us, there is a blank of pp 3—22—allowing for the title-page. It has been usual to blame Archbishop Laud for the suppression in these pages, of the "Treatise of Religion", subsequently given in the "Remains". So Malone, in his History of the Stage, and D'Israeli in his "Curiosities of Literature", and Mr. Corser, as before, and Mr. Hazlitt in his Hand-Book. Laud has enough to bear without conjectural addition. There does not appear to be any warrant for the charge or even suspicion. There is no allusion to it in his all-embracing "Diary", though one of the worst things in it consists of his entry of the death of Robert, Lord Brooke. I rather think the solution of "Biographia Britannica" (1757 *s.*

n.) is correct, viz., that there was 'prefatory matter' containing a Life of the Author, "with fuller details of his murder than his friends cared to let the world read." In an Appendix [A] to our Memorial-Introduction, the passage will be found *in extenso*. Certainly the "Treatise of Religion" would not have filled the cancelled pages: and besides would scarcely have been in proper place in relation to those that follow from page 23 onward.

The so-called "Five Years of King James I", (1643) assigned to Lord Brooke and a Tragedy entitled "M. T. Cicero",[1] ascribed to him by Phillipsin *Theatrum Poetarum*, and by Winstanley in his "Lives of the English Poets", are admit-

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[1] The title-page is as follows:—

The Tragedy of
That Famous Roman
Oratovr
Marcus Tullius
Cicero.
London,
Printed by *Richard Cotes*, for *John Sweeting*
at the Angell in Pope's-head Alley,
1651.

Mr. Wright, of Cambridge, suggests Dr. Samuel Brooke as the author, as above.

tedly unauthentic—not being named in the LIFE of SIDNEY in our Worthy's account of his own Writings. The Tragedy more probably belongs to Dr. Samuel Brooke, author of Melanthe and other comedies. Both are necessarily excluded by us. The "Five Years" condemns itself as impossible to have come from LORD BROOKE. An anonymous Manuscript of it is preserved at Cambridge.

As hitherto, I annotate thoughts and words and allusions, where further light is needed: and at the close I furnish full indices, glossary &c. Any other explanations needed, may be sought for in Notes and foot-notes.

The Memorial-Introduction will be found very much fuller and more definite than any previous one. I have been enabled to verify and elucidate unverified facts and dates, and above all, have recovered previously unpublished Letters of special interest and value, as well as utilized others scattered in various little known books. The Letters to and from BACON and LORD BROOKE's hitherto inedited Speech in defence of BACON,[1] will be found important contributions to that ultimate

[1] The Speech is included in the Prose in our Vol. IV., along with Notes of others. G.

vindication of one of "the greatest, wisest" and *not* "meanest of mankind," that is certain; and toward which every lover of his country owes whatever he can furnish. The long Letter—almost a State-Paper—on the Palatinate, also, is of rare historical worth. I congratulate myself on its discovery and recovery from the chaos of the Tanner MSS. But after all my labour in bringing available materials together, I have to regret that I could not do a great deal more. I most earnestly hope that in these days of bringing to the light of day the treasures of Family-papers, present inheritors of the name of Brooke will see it to be their duty and privilege to help forward an adequate Life. Richard Savage roughly sang of

"The tenth transmitter of a *foolish* face".

Methinks it is sadder to find a 'noble' face transmitted indeed, but degenerated into the mere titular noble: and especially as looking at grand old portraits over-against modern, *the* blood-descent is plainly declared. In the present case, the descendants and representatives of Lord Brooke have had more than his 'blue blood'. Earlier, there was his immediate heir in Robert, Lord Brooke—honoured of John Milton and author of that pure and beautiful book of "The Nature of

Truth", (1641) and more recently FULKE GREVILLE Esq., author of "Maxims and Characteristics" (1757 : 1768 :). While in our own day there are living BROOKES having brain-power and faculties worthy of their hereditary renown. I trust some one of the family will recognize responsibility and claim.

Prefixed to our second volume is an Essay, critical and explanatory, which has cost me a good deal of study: and I venture to anticipate will prove acceptable and useful.

I have the pleasure to thank many Correspondents for continued assistance rendered in the progress of my Worthies. In the present case I have already named W. Aldis Wright, Esq, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge. I add other four, spontaneously obliging and helpful — Rev Dr. Hannah, Trinity College, Glenalmond, N.B., and C. T. Ramage., Esq., LL.D. Wallace Hall, Thornhill, N.B., and Rev. Dr. Waddington, and Dr. Rimbault, London. I have in BROOKE, as in BEAUMONT, to acknowledge ready response to many commissions for book-extracts and other things, from my accomplished American-English friend, COLONEL CHESTER. I would also, in common with every literary man, acknowledge effective aid rendered by "Notes and Queries"

and the invariable willinghood to oblige, of our great public Libraries, as the British Museum and Bodleian. Other helpers are noticed in their places.

And now "take" my labour

> ....."in good part, whatsoever thou be,
> And wish me no worse than I wish thee".

as quoth TUSSER, and as followeth

ALEXANDER B. GROSART.

*** Fac-similes of Lord Brooke's hand-writing and autographs, prefixed (in large paper) to Vol IV.

Memorial-Introduction.

THE Peerage and Gentry authorities—from Collins[1] to Burke—the County-histories—Sir William Dugdale's 'Warwickshire' specially,[2]—and certain Heraldic-Manuscripts of Knox Ward and Thomas Spencer, Esquires,[3] furnish well-nigh "*endless* genealogies" of the ancestry and inter-marriages of the Family of our

Fulke Greville.

Thither I must refer such readers as like these things. For myself—if I may be allowed to say

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[1] Arthur Collins: a separate Pedigree of the Grevilles, and his "Baronage". There is also a pedigree of the Grevilles at Oxford among the Ashmole MSS.

[2] Edited by Thomas, 2 vols., folio. 1730.

[3] Quoted in "Biographia Britannica" (1757) *s. n.*—B. B. is by far our best authority on early Lives: and it is a thousand pities this matterful work was not completed. It will rarely be consulted in vain. I owe much to it.

so—I agree with "Arcadia" in the often-quoted sentiment: "I am noe heralde to inquire of men's pedigrees: it sufficethe me if I knowe their vertues"; and so I envy not the Antiquary-proper, though I value, his laborious discoveries and recoveries and readings in 'auncient' deeds and parchments. Of our Brooke it holds preeminently what Pawson wrote to young John Hall,

> "*Thou need'st no nose-lesse monuments' display*
> *Or ear-cropp'd images:* leave that by-way
> To those who are contented to be known
> By their forefathers' virtues, not their own."[1]

I notice his descent, accordingly, with all possible brevity. That descent is from the renowned and noble Houses of the Beauchamps of Powick (or Powyke), and the Willoughbys de Broke or Brook. Camden[2] traces the title to 'Brook-house' the family-seat situate upon the Avon, in Warwickshire—Shakespeare's Avon—and which 'House' derived its name from a rivulet or 'brook' which runs into that river. It was the residence of John Pavely, lord of Westbury, and afterwards gave the title of Baron to Robert

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[1] John Hall's Poems, 1647: preliminary Verses.

[2] "Britannia" as quoted in B. B.

Willoughby of that Family, when Henry VIIth advanced him to the honour: by which king this Willoughby was also made Steward of the Household-royal, and High Admiral of England.

This particular family of Willoughby soon died out of male representatives in direct line. 'Baron' Willoughby left but one son, Robert, Lord Brook, or Brooke. He married in turn Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of Richard Beauchamp, Lord Beauchamp of Alcester and Powyke, and had a son: but he died in his father's lifetime. Besides this prematurely-deceased son, there was a daughter, like her mother, named Elizabeth. She married Sir Fulke Greville, or Greville—also of Alcester.[1] This was the

[1] There is a love-story within this marriage. In a MS. entitled "The Genealogie, Life and Death of Robert, Lord Brooke" written in 1644, and in possession of Earl Brooke we have it told as follows: "In the days of Henry VIII., I read of Sir Edward Grevil, of Milcote, who had the wardership of Elizabeth, one of the daughters of the Lord Brooke's son. The knight made a motion to his ward, to be married to John, his eldest son; but she refused, saying that she did like better of Fulke, his second son. He told her that he had no estate of land to maintain her; that he was in the king's service of warre beyond the seas, and therefore his return was very doubtful. She

grandfather of our Worthy—and as he lived until 1559 it is pleasant to know that his little grandson must have climbed his knees and crumpled his ruffs, with sweet childly kisses and broken words.

This marriage brought to SIR FULKE—besides the other broad family-lands—BEAUCHAMP-COURT of the BEAUCHAMPS. Their issue were two sons, named FULKE and ROBERT respectively. FULKE was knighted "in the seventh year of Queen Elizabeth," [1565] and was "a man no less esteemed for the sweetness of his temper than the dignity of his station."[1] He died in 1606. He had married ANN NEVILE, daughter of RALPH NEVILE, EARL OF WESTMORELAND. Our FULKE was their only son: and he was born at Beauchamp-Court—the family-seat—in 1554. There was also a daughter MARGARET, subsequently

---

replied, and said, that shee had an estate sufficient both for him and for herself; and that shee would pray for his safetie, and wait for his coming. Upon his returne home, for the worthy services he had performed, he was, by King Henry, honoured with knighthood; and then married Elizabeth, the daughter of Lord Brooke's son". (Burke's "Peerage" *s. n.*)

[1] Camden's Britannia, "Warwickshire" as before.

married to Sir Richard Verney (or Varney) of Compton-Mordak, Warwickshire, ancestor of later Lords Willoughby, of Brook. The name 'Verney' reminds us of our Worthy's "Letter" to his cousin of the name, while on his travels. It will be found in his prose-Works.[1]

On these many names, titulary, and to a larger extent than common, really noble, I wish to note at this point, two things:

(1) That Camden thus speaks of the somewhat odd-sounding Christian name of 'Fulke': "Foulk or Fulke, some derive from the German *vollg*, noble and gallant; but I, from *Folc*, the English-Saxon word for *people;* as though it were the same with *publius* of the Romans, and only translated from publius, as beloved of the people and commons."[2] One willingly accepts a lustrous etymology of this kind from a Camden.

(2) That inasmuch as Sir Philip Sidney was likewise descendant and representative of the Beauchamps, through the Dudleys, Greys and Talbots, Viscounts Lisle, the two life-long friends were related, viz., by Elizabeth, grand-

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[1] Vol IVth: with collation from a MS copy.

[2] Camden's Remains concerning Britain, 1615: in chapter of Names, p. 70.

mother of our Sir Fulke, Lord Brooke.[1] Blood, especially perhaps 'blue blood' as distinguished from the common ichor, *is* thicker than water: and here probably was the first tie between the brother-like friends.[2]

The birth-year—1554—of our Worthy—returning upon the fine Fullerian word—marks a memorable epoch for Literature and for the World. Spenser born in 1553, was then "puking in the nurse's arms": Raleigh, born in 1552, beginning to toddle alone; Drake born in 1545, dreaming early dreams of far-away Voyages and Adventures. Sidney belongs to the same year: seven years later,

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[1] See all the Lives of Sir Philip Sidney. Within a few years there have been three very valuable Lives, Lloyd, (1862); Bourne, (1861) and one tasteful and original—though occasionally mistaken, from America: (Boston, 1859).

[2] In bringing these family-names together, besides already given authorities, I have been indebted to Sir Egerton Brydges' Memoir, prefixed to his edition of the Life of Sidney, a somewhat perfunctory and un-appreciative performance, by one who deserves well of Book-lovers for varied service rendered in reviving our early Literature. Likewise to Wood's *Athenæ* and *Fasti* and various briefer Notices, as in Chalmers' Biographical Dictionary, 1814. (*s. n.*)

came Bacon, ten years, Shakespeare and Marlowe, and every year for half-a-century onward, saw another and another "heir of Fame" given to the England of the Tudors. It is something that our Brooke, independent of extrinsic rank and circumstance, holds his own among contemporaries so great. With all named, he had less or more connection—as will appear in the sequel.

Born in Warwickshire—*the* county of Shakespeare and Drayton, enough glory for a nation, much more for a small bit of a small island—Master Fulke was sent to the school at Shrewsbury, founded only the year preceding his birth, by Edward VIth, who had died in the arms of Sir Henry Sidney the same year.[1] This was in November, 1564, or in his tenth year: and on the same day, at the same age, Master Philip Sidney was also entered—Sidney's name being first and Fulke's immediately following. For the first time — as somehow previous Biographers have contented themselves with simply accepting the proud tradition — I give the record of Master Fulke's admission, which is still extant in the handwriting of "Mr. Ashton", of whom Sir

[1] See Mr. Howard Staunton's excellent "Great Schools of England," *s.n.*

Henry Sidney writes laudatively to his "little Philippe." It is as follows: "Foulkus Gryvell filius et heres Foulki Gryvell armigeri de Beauchampe Courte in Comitatu Varvici, xvi., Cal. Nov.".[1] Six months only before this, at not very distant Stratford-on-Avon, one William Shakespeare was born.

The Registers have nothing further of the progress of the lads, or of either. But they probably continued for four years at Shrewsbury School. In 1566 Sidney certainly was still in attendance at Shrewsbury: for in that year his father, Sir Henry Sidney, addressed him a very noticeable, a surpassingly beautiful letter, with a gold-precious 'post-script' by his mother, "Marie Sidney."[2] I like to picture the two boy-friends bending over this letter, and touched into gravity,

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[1] I am indebted to Dr. Moss, the present Head-Master, for this satisfactory entry: even the accurate Hunter in his "New Illustrations of Shakespeare" (Vol. I., p. 152), blunders. In Dr. Kennedy's Preface to Sabrin Coroll is added "Regiæ Scholæ Salopiensis ordinibus adscriptus est."

[2] Letters and Memorials of State by the Sidney family, in two vols., folio, edited by Collins (1746), Vol. I., p. 8. B. B. and Julius Lloyd's Life of Sidney [1862], pp. 10—12: by a slip Lloyd misdates this letter 1556.

even solemnity, with counsels such as these—still to be read: "Let your first actyon be the lyfting up of your mynd to Almighty God by harty prayer; and felingly dysgest the woords yow speake in prayer, with contynual meditation and thinkinge of Him to whom you praye, and of the matter for which yow praye"; and thereafter, that he is to be studious, that he is to be "courteese", "affable to all men", temperate and "cleanly, as well in all parts of yowr bodye as in yowr garments", "merye, but ever void of all scurilitee, and biteing woords to any man", "rather a herer and bearer away of other men's talke, then a begyner or procurer of speeche", and "above all things, tell no untruthe, no, not in trifels": the close being "Yowr lovinge father, so long as you live in the feare of God".[1] That Master Greville was along with Master Sidney seems clear from the "Life" of Sidney, wherein his friend in loving and half-idolizing reminiscence, observes, "with whom I shall euer account it honour to have been *brought up*",[2] and more definitely, "Of whose youth I will report no other wonder but this: that though *I lived with him and knew him from a child*, yet I never knew him other than a man."[3]

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[1] *Ibid.* [2] Page 2 (1652 edition.) [3] *Ibid* pp. 6—7.

There is obscurity of an inexplicable kind over the University career of the two cousins and associates. SIDNEY proceeded to Christ-Church, Oxford, and FULKE GREVILLE to Cambridge, where he entered as a fellow-commoner of Jesus College, and matriculated on May 20th, 1568. This is from the Matriculation-Book in the Registry.[1] Confirmatory of it is another entry in the Audit-Book of Jesus College, which records the admissions of students, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Under the year 1568, in a recitation of the fees received on the occasion, and distinguishing the rank and order of the student into which he was admitted, is the following:

Imprimis .... Mr. Legge pro introitu Mri
Randolphi ..... s. XX.
[Twelve names intervene.]
Item de Mro. Grevell ..... s. XX.[2]

The documents of the Period at Cambridge, as at Oxford, are somewhat fragmentary and irregular: but these entries warrant us in withdrawing from renowned "Trinity" and transferring to Jesus College, the illustrious name

[1] From Mr. W. A. Wright, as before.
[2] From Dr. Corrie, Master of Jesus College.

of Lord Brooke. All the authorities, including Fuller in his "Worthies", and the (old) "Biographia Brittannica", as well as Edmundson's Grevilles and the like, have given "Trinity" as his College: but there is nothing in its Registers or other books to support this. His arms it is true, are in the eastern oriel of "Trinity" Hall, with the inscription "Fulco Grevill M": [= Miles, probably]: but this is no conclusive evidence that he ever was a Trinity man. For the arms of Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, are in the same window, though he was of Christ's.[1] The explanation of the arms being there, may be, that our Greville contributed in some way to the building of the Hall, which was erected in Nevile's time. The mother of our Fulke Greville, as has been seen, was a Neville. The only other memorial of connexion of Lord Brooke with Trinity is under date 27th April, 1615, in the register, as follows: "A lease of the great tithes of Monk's Kirby, Brockhurst and Copston, was granted by the Master, Fellows and Scholars of Trinity College, Cambridge, to Sir Fulk Greville, with the small tithes of Monk's Kirby and Newbolt, and also all those tithes of Corne and

[1] Mr. W. A. Wright, as before.

graine of Cosseford, together with all the tithes of the pastures of Cesterwouer, with also twoe yardes of lande".[1]

I hazard a conjecture as to the origin of the "Trinity" tradition., viz, that as "Marcus Tullius Cicero", a Poem-Play, has been mis-assigned to our Brooke in *Theatrum Poetarum* and Winstanley, whereas it more probably belongs to Samuel Brooke, author of "Melanthe" and "Scyros", and that tender little lilt "of Tears"—too long given to Rudyard—so, as he was of "Trinity" this Brooke may have been mistaken for our's. It was not until 1620 that Sir Fulke was created Lord Brooke. Samuel Brooke's "Melanthe" was acted before King James Ist., in 1614.[2]

Be all this as it may "Jesus", not "Trinity", must be regarded as Lord Brooke's College—name worthy to be placed besides Jesus's other lustrous son, Cranmer. Entered in 1568, young Greville—in his 14th year then—in all likli-

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Brooke was brother of the more celebrated Christopher Brooke. He is addressed in verse by Donne. See also Dr. Hannah's "Courtly Poets" [1870] pp 112-114, 234: also, by-and-bye, our collection of Christopher Brooke's Poetry in our Fuller Miscellanies.

hood continued the usual terms of attendance: although there is uncertainty, through the absence of record. Our Worthy's only certain relation to Oxford—as distinguished from Cambridge—is, that in the Armada year [1588] he was there created "Master of Arts".[1] Wood claims him as a "Gentleman Commoner" of Oxford: but concedes that he more properly belongs to Cambridge.[2]

But while his College course is somewhat obscure—and so must be left meantime—his interest in the University of Cambridge was continued unto maturity: for in the "Annals of Cambridge" we read: "The proceedings, with a view to the drainage of the fens, caused the University renewed anxiety respecting the prevention of the navigation of the river Cam. Mr. Secretary Naunton and Sir Fulke Greville, Chancellor of the Exchequer, received the thanks of the University for their advocacy of its interests, in opposition to those who projected the drainage, and who were termed Undertakers."[3] The two

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[1] *Athenæ* Oxonienses, *s.n.*

[2] *Ibid:* Is the explanation, that Sidney and Greville visited each other and heard Lectures at both Universities, as was not uncommon?

[3] By Cooper, III. 131.

Letters written by GEORGE HERBERT—*clarum et venerabile nomen*—conveying these thanks, are preserved among his "Remains".[1]

Closing his attendance at the University, like other 'ingenuous youth' of the period, he planned adventures in the West Indies and America, along with SIDNEY and DRAKE, that, if carried out, might have changed the whole course of Events in Europe and America, in so far as these lie without the universal controlling Will, and within man's freedom to achieve or abandon. It had saved England that tragic death of Zutphen: and probably, in SIDNEY and GREVILLE, given names of Discoverers and 'Planters' of Colonies, to be placed besides those of RALEIGH and DRAKE, and for PONCE DE LEON in the mulberry groves of FLORIDA and DE SOTO invading the primeval solitudes of the OGEECHEE and the ALTAMAHA, the ALABAMA and the MISSISSIPPI, we had read of the explorations and trophies of our Englishmen, and the Rose being planted instead of the Lilies of France. 'The

[1] Herbert's Works, 2 Vols. 8vo. [Pickering 1853], Vol. I. pp 370-371. Mr. Wright, as before, kindly sent me a transcript from the Orator's book: and I had another from Add. MSS. [B. Museum] 5873: folio 106; by Cole, and incorrect.

Spaniard' and the 'Portugal' had also been earlier driven out. The Reader of the Lives of SIDNEY, and the 'Life' by LORD BROOKE, will turn to the vivid and stirring pages that tell of how MAGELLAN and FROBISHER, and the grand old folios of HAKLUYT —the first "just out," and dedicated to SIDNEY— fired the young imaginations of the two friends: and how all was marred by the direct personal 'commands' of the great and greatly-exacting Queen—ELIZABETH, who would *not* have her truest 'Nobles' leave her Person and Court. In retrospect, it was well: for they too might have gone down in the "Squirrel," with brave SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT: and so we thank LANGUET for his dissuasion. We have four royal 'interruptions' of intended 'Travell' and enterprize, quaintly narrated in the 'Life' of SIDNEY: and they must have place here:

"When my youth, with favour of Court in some moderate proportion to my birth and breeding in the activenesse of that time, gave mee opportunity of most businesse: then did my yet undiscouraged genius most affect to finde, or make work for it self. And out of that freedom, having many times offered my fortune to the course of forraigne employments, as the properest forges to fashion a subject for the reall services

of his Soveraigne; I found the returnes of those mis-placed endeavours to prove, both a vaine charge to my selfe, and an offensive undertaking to that excellent Governesse over all her subjects duties and affections.

For instance, how mild soever those mixtures of favours and corrections were in that princely Lady: yet to shew that they fell heavy in crossing a young man's ends; I will onely choose, and alleage foure out of many, some with leave, some without.

First, when those two mighty Armies of Don Iohn and the Duke Casimires, were to meet in the Low Countries; my horses, with all other preparations being shipped at Dover, with leave under her bill assigned: even then was I stayed by a princely Mandate, the messenger Sir Edward Dier. Wherein whatsoever I felt, yet I appeale to the judicious Reader, whether there be any latitude left (more then humble obedience) in these nice cases between duty and selfenesse, in a Soveraigne's service?

After this, when Mr. Secretary Walsingham was sent Embassdor, to treate with those two Princes in a businesse so much concerning Christian blood and Christian Empires; then did the same irregular motion (which seldome rests, but

steales where it cannot trade) perswade me, that whosoever would venture to go without leave, was sure never to be taxed. Upon which false axiome (trusting the rest to chance) I went over with Mr. Secretary, unknown: But at my returne was forbidden her presence for many moneths.

Againe, when my Lord of Leicester was sent Generall of Her Majestie's Forces into the Low Countries, and had given me the command of an hundred horse; then I giving my humors over to good order, yet found, that neither the earnest intercession of this grandee, seconded with my own humble sute, and many other honourable friends of mine, could prevaile against the constant course of this excellent Lady with her servants. So as I was forced to tarry behind; and for this importunity of mine to change my course, and seeme to preferre any thing before my service about her: this Princesse of government, as well of government as of Kingdomes, made me live in her Court a spectacle of disfavour, too long as I conceived.

Lastly, the universall fame of a battle to bee fought, between the prime forces of Henry the third, and the religious of Henry the fourth, then king of Navarre; lifting me yet once more above

this humble earth of duty, made me resolve to see the difference between Kings present and absent in their martial Expeditions. So that without acquainting any creature, the Earle of Essex excepted, I shipped my selfe over: and at my returne, was kept from her presence full six moneths, and then received after a strange manner. For this absolute Princesse to sever ill examples from grace, averrs my going over to bee a secret imployment of her's: and all these other petty exiles, a making good of that cloud or figure, which she was pleased to cast over my absence. Protecting me to the world with the honour of her imployment, rather then she would, for example's sake, be forced either to punish mee further, or too easily forgive a contempt or neglect, in a Servant so near about her, as she was pleased to conceive it.

By which many warnings, I finding the specious fires of youth to prove far more scorching then glorious, called my second thoughts to counsell, and in that map clearly discerning Action and Honor, to fly with more wings then one: and that it was sufficient for the plant to grow where his Soveraigne's hand had placed it; I found reason to contract my thoughts from theis larger, but wandring horizons, of the world

abroad, and to bound my prospects within the safe limits of duty, in such home services, as were acceptable to my Soveraigne."[1]

Thus ultimately retired 'at home' our Worthy nevertheless found occasion for seeing the World, as the preceding quotations incidentally shew, albeit Her Majesty 'frowned'. In the same 'Lives' and 'Life' various additional glimpses are obtained of his presence at 'foreign Courts'[2] and in interviews with kings and princes such as WILLIAM OF NASSAU—whose mighty story has been immortalized in our own day by MOTLEY, with praise and quotations from our Worthy—and evidences of expertness 'in the tongues' acquired in the several Countries. It is sorrowful to think that Correspondence reflecting the lights and shadows of his "journeyings oft" should be allowed to lie un-read, un-used, un-valued in hereditary Charter-Chests.

From his family-connections young FULKE rose speedily to eminence, and in every case the statue

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[1] P p 167—171 (1652 edn.): but I have given the text as formed from the MS. in Trinity College, Cambridge: on which see Introduction and note to the Prose Works in our Volume IVth.

[2] See particularly the full and careful portrait of William, Prince of Orange. *Ibid* pp 22—23.

was un-dwarfed by the pedestal, the man invariably proving equal to and greater than, his offices. Introduced to the Court of Elizabeth by his uncle—ROBERT GREVILLE—[1] her eagle eye marked him for her own immediate service, and to the end he was faithful. Here it is surely to be recognized that the supreme homage, the lavish reverence, the proud allegiance, the burning words of mourning, the life-long cherished memory of the FOREMOST, toward ELIZABETH, calcine recent charges and denunciations of the great Queen. The ELIZABETH of FROUDE'S 'History' could never have so ruled over such kingly intellects and gallant lives.

For his 'civil' and more private employment he was primarily indebted to SIR HENRY SIDNEY, father of Sir Philip, already named,[2] and himself Lord President of Wales. The office engaged him within the 'Principality of Wales', in association with EDMUND MOLYNEUX. This was in 1576, or his twenty-second year. He held this first post for a very short period: for in 1577 owing to possessing 'the reversions of two of the best offices' in the newly-instituted Court of the

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[1] WOOD'S Athenæ *s.n.*

[2] B. B., as before, p 2393 *et seqq.*

Marches of Wales—an institution that seems to have sprung from the former appointment,—he resigned the associate-place. The "Biographia Britannica" gives a letter of WALSINGHAM, in favor of Greville, his cousin. This was on certain disputes that had arisen "concerning the profits" of the office.[1] SIR PHILIP SIDNEY likewise interposed, and the thing ended satisfactorily in 1581. As 'Clerk of the Signet to the Council in Wales'—such seems to have been the technical designation—he drew above £2,000 annually, equal to £10,000 now, or more.[2] He had sufficient to do with every 'broad piece' he could command. For about this period, when ambassadors and great numbers of the nobility of

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[1] P p 2394 *et seqq.*

[2] Lord Brooke's offices in Wales are so variously named that it is not easy to thread one's way through the different accounts. Dugdale ("Warwickshire" Vol. II. 767) states that he was constituted Secretary for the Principality of South and North Wales, by letters-patent, bearing date 20th April, in the 25th of Elizabeth, or 1583: and that the said office was granted to him for life, the 24th of July, 1 James 1st., or 1603—4. But Sidney's letter shews a prior appointment in Wales, viz., in 1576—1577. In the Biographia Britannica: p 2394, note E, are interesting details from the Boothe MSS.

France came over from Queen Catharine de'Medicis concerning the marriage of ELIZABETH with the DUKE OF ANJOU, part of their magnificent entertainment—and entertainment and 'fair words' were all they got—consisted of "martial exercises of tilts and tournaments", whereof the providers of the "costly undertakings", were Philip, Earl of Arundel, Frederick, Lord Windsor, Philip Sidney and FULKE GREVILLE, who were "challengers of all comers." He won special name as a 'valiant knight.'[1] MOTLEY has limned the 'Display' vividly. Speaking of SIR PHILIP SIDNEY he says, "a vision of him in blue gilded armour—with horses caparisoned in cloth of gold, pearl-embroidered, attended by pages in cloth of silver, Venetian horse, laced hats, and by gentlemen, yeomen, and trumpeters, in yellow velvet cassocks, buskins and feathers—as one of "the four fostered children of virtuous Desire" (to wit, Anjou) storming "the castle of perfect Beauty", rises out of the cloud-dusts of ancient chronicle for a moment, and then vanishes into air again.

"Having this day my horse, my hand, my lance,
Guided so well that I obtain'd the prize,

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[1] Winstanley, Lives of the English Poets p 87 in B.B.

Both by the judgement of our English eyes,
And of some sent by that sweet en'my, France":

as he chivalrously sings ".[1]

Subsequently, in 1583—there was a still wider appointment—wider in authority and dignity, and still more lucrative, viz., Secretary for the entire Principality of North and South Wales. To this he was 'constituted' by letters patent, bearing date, the 20th of April, in the 25th of Elizabeth (or as before 1583): and the same office was confirmed to him for life on the 24th July, of 1st James Ist. (or 1603). He was now in good position, and in the highest favour at Court. But that he had his own share of the already revealed capriciousness of Royalty, and even pecuniary struggles, is unquestionable. The following never-before-published Letter to—it is believed—WALSINGHAM, is without date, but gives us insight into his personal difficulties under Elizabeth:

"Sir, I languishe and beseache your honor, to take a tyme to moue the Queene, that you may hear & I see the worst of my selfe; thys poor

[1] History of the United Netherlands, Vol. I. (1860) p 361. I give the quotation correctly: Mr. Motley's, short though it be, unfortunately is grossly inaccurate.

[2] Dugdale's Warwickshire, as before: Vol. II. 767.

arrierage of Penkritche, and 200li [*sic*] pension during pleasur, ar my thinks no suche lyberalytys, as should aske an exchaunge of poore Horninglow wood, she gave me before; for she may cut it of, the first quarter, for any assurance wee may haue of thes nether heavens; my humble desyer is that it would please your honor to open my estate vnto her, In suche mañer as she may know I am poore, & yeat thankfull, yf she haue compassion. I cañot be less worthe in her eys, then this I ask her, yf not yeat I haue honest lyberty to goe when I am resolued whether, I shall thinke myselfe muche bound to you, and hope she will not be offended wth your honor for showing so muche loue to me; from my lodge this wensday

Your honour's at cōmandement
ffoulk greuill[1]

Our last date was 1583. It reminds us that in that year Sir Philip Sidney married the only daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, of whose "beauty met with vertue" Ben Jonson sang. I do not doubt that his friend and the bride's friend, was present on the joyous occasion.

That Fulke Greville never himself wore the light yoke of marriage, was not of choice.

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[1] Harlean MS., 286, fol. 46: Original.

At present we are without the key to read it; but the series of passionate Sonnets called "Cælica", fold within them a hitherto unsuspected or at least un-noticed world of romance in his life. Setting aside the 'mournefull song' of the "Paradyse of Daynty Deuices", as in all probability not by him—the most hurried perusal of "Cælica" satisfies, that the homage, if not worship, is too absolute, the passion too intense, the emotion too keen, the utterance too forceful, the recurrence and iteration too sustained, and the 'fancies' too tenderly quaint and dainty, to have sprung out of an 'airy nothing'. Only a heart fired electrically with a real flesh-and-blood passion could so pulsate; only lips that had snatched burning kisses burningly, and afterwards found the fires pale into dust of ashes, could so 'babble' and wail alternately. The pity is, that in the absence of documents it were idle to conjecture who 'Cælica' or 'Myra' or 'Cynthia' or 'Myraphill'—these names alternating— was, and what was the basis of the many radiant and yet deep-shadowed, joyous and also sad, words of these extraordinary Sonnets, wherein—as shewn in our Essay on the Poetry—he is inspired beyond his ordinary overladen, not to say, cumbrous versification, and

becomes natural and musical as any nightingale in its pathetic 'gul-gul'. These are plainly autobiographic, as well as truly pathetic love-verses:

"I, with whose colors Myra drest her head,
I, that ware posies of her owne hand-making,
I, that mine owne name in the chimnies read,
By Myra finely wrought ere I was waking:
Must I looke on—in hope time comming may
With change bring backe my turne againe to play?

I that on Sunday at the Church-stile found
A garland sweet, with true-loue knots in flowers
Which I to weare about mine arme was bound,
That each of vs might know that all was ours:
Must I now lead an idle life in wishes?
And follow Cupid for his loaues and fishes?

I, that did weare the ring her mother left,
I, for whose loue she gloried to be blamed,
I, with whose eyes her eyes committed theft,
I, who did make her blush when I was named;
Must I lose ring, flowers, blush, theft, and go naked,
Watching with sighs, *till dead loue be awakèd?*

I, that when drowsie Argus fell asleep,
Like Iealousie, o'rewatchèd with Desire,
Was euen warnèd modestie to keepe,
While her breath speaking kindled Nature's fire:
Must I looke on a-cold while others warme them?
Doe Vulcan's brothers in such fine nets arme them?

Was it for this that I might Myra see
Washing the water with her beauties, white?
Yet would she neuer write her love to me;
Thinks wit of change while thoughts are in delight!
Mad girles must safely loue, as they may leaue;
No man can print a kiss; lines may deceiue."[1]

Again:

"Cælica, when I was from your presence bound,
At first good-will both sorrow'd and repined:
Loue, Faith, and Nature felt restraint a wound,
Honour itselfe to kindnesse yet inclin'd;

Your vowes one way with your desires did goe,
Selfe-pittie then in you did pittie me;
Yea sex did scorne to be imprisoned so;
For fire goes out for lacke of vent, we see.

For when with time Desire had made a truce,
I onely was exempt, the world left free;
Yet what winne you by bringing change in vse,
But to make currant infidelity?
Cælica, you say you loue me, but you feare:
Then hide me in your heart, and keep me there."[2]

Once more: The vivid and memory-haunting LXXXIVth Sonnet (so-called) ends thus tragically over a 'dead loue' and only thinly disguises his own name of Greville:

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[1] XXIId. [2] LXVth.

"Alone among the world, strange with my friends to be,
Shewing my fall to them that scorne, see not or will not see.
My heart a wildernesse, my studies only feare;
And as in shadows of curst death, a prospect of despaire.
My exercise, must be, my horrours to repeat;
My peace, ioy, end, and sacrifice, HER DEAD LOVE TO INTREAT.
My food, the time that was; the time to come my fast;
For drinke, the barren thirst I feele of glories that are past;
Sighs and salt tears my bath: reason, my looking-glasse;
To shew me he most wretched is, that once most happy was.
Forlorne desires my clocke, to tell me euery day,
That Time hath stolne loue, life, and all, but my distresse away.
For musicke, heauy sighes, my walke and inward woe;
Which like a shadow euer shall before my body goe:
And I myselfe am he, that doth with none compare,
Except in woes and lacke of worth, whose states more wretched are.
Let no man aske my name, nor what else I should be;
For *Greiv-Ill*, paine, forlorne estate, doe best decipher me."[1]

Of a lighter vein is this to Cupid:

"Farewell sweet boy, complaine not of my truth;
Thy mother lou'd thee not with more deuotion;

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[1] Note that owing to a mis-numbering of the Sonnets in the folio of 1633, this appears as the lxxxiiid instead of lxxxivth, as it really is.

FOR TO THY BOYE'S PLAY I GAUE ALL MY YOUTH:
Yong master, I did hope for your promotion.

While some sought honours, princes' thoughts obseruing;
Many woo'd Fame, the child of paine and anguish;
Others iudg'd inward good a chiefe deseruing;
I in thy wanton visions ioy'd to languish.

I bow'd not to thy image for succession,
Nor bound thy bow to shoot reformèd kindnesse;
Thy playes of hope and feare were my confession,
The spectacles to my life was thy blindnesse:
But Cupid now farewell, I will goe play me,
With thoughts that please me lesse, and lesse betray me."[1]

The pain throbs beneath the smile here: and altogether it is a deeper and better thing than Curiosity that makes us hope for the uncovering of the long-held secret of this 'dead-love'. I know not that if you except SHAKESPEARE'S Sonnets, we have finer love-words in our language than are to be found in "Cælica". Curious coincidence certainly it is, that in the life of the statesman-poet, FULKE GREVILLE, LORD BROOKE, there should be a chapter of un-written and hitherto utterly overlooked romance, corresponding fundamentally with similar in the lowlier life of PHINEAS FLETCHER

[1] lxxxvth.

of the "PURPLE ISLAND".[1] Only by keeping the central, controlling fact in mind, will you understand the strange out-breaking of passion in the two Poetries—the brightness as of the throne of crysolite, the blackness as of the abyss, the interblending of song and wail, of 'benison' and malison.

With reference to the lxxxivth Sonnet quoted above, SIR EDWARD DYER,—his bosom-friend with SIR PHILIP SIDNEY,—has "A Fancy" having much the same burden; and later, SOUTHWELL turned it to plaintive spiritual use. Doubtless DYER had read Lord BROOKE's. As Lord BROOKE prepared his own for publication it seems certain his was the original, DYER's the imitation. Indeed on study of the two you can see how BROOKE's might suggest DYER's, but not at all how DYER's could suggest BROOKE's.[2]

I associated the appointment of Secretary of the Principality of Wales, North and South, with the

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[1] See our edition of his Works: 4 vols.: Vol. I. pp lxxxviii—xcvii.

[2] . Dr. Hannah in "Courtly Poets", (pp 154—173) as before, gives Brooke's as the imitation: but as above, I must differ from him. But more on this point in our Essay prefixed to Vol IId.

name of SIR PHILIP SIDNEY. I have again to associate them. On that mournful morning of grey October, 1586, Zutphen took its place for 'all time' as a '*great* battle' because of the noble and the good life flung away on it, with a sad chivalry. The news came to England as a sorrow too big for words: the Nation's heart was sore. To Fulke Greville it was as the quenching of his own supremest earthly Hope. Leicester and even Philip and Mendoza might speak of his GREATNESS, but to his friend the loss was that of an all but idolatrous love. There are many proofs that the shadow of this sorrow lay unlifted across the well-nigh half-a-century of the Survivor. The Life of SIDNEY (so-called) is not a 'Life' in the large sense: but it is a priceless memorial of a peerless friendship. One can picture the reverence and softness of touch, not without tears, wherewith the 'books' left by Will "to his dear friends, Mr. Edward Dier [Sir Edward Dyer] and FULKE GREVILLE" would be handled.[1] Silence, retirement, weariness to get away, marked the immediately succeeding years. Now probably, he secluded himself most of all for those profound

[1] For Sidney's Will, see Collins' Sidneys, as before: Vol. I. p iii.

interrogations of men and things that afterwards crystallized in his Poetry. Unfortunately, our dates are obscure and uncertain. We know that in 1593, the "Phœnix Nest" contained his verse-lament for Sidney, and that in 1600, Bodenham's "Belvedere" had lines of his, and that his love-lilts in "England's Helicon" appeared in 1600, and that a (probably) surreptitious edition of "Mustapha" was published in 1609. But as all the other Poems and Poem-Plays and Prose—substantially his entire Works—were posthumous, the chronology is undetermined. Incidentally it comes out, that ELIZABETH was dead when the Poems of Monarchy were being composed:[1] and touches of monarch-portraiture in all, could only have "the most learned FOOL in Europe" for original. The Excommunication of Venice in 1606 (stanza 214) and the Dutch Treaty of 1608, (stanza 102) are also noticed. His literary works were the outcoming of the occasional and stolen leisure of self-chosen retirement or retreat: only the relaxation of a full and busy and potential life. In the light of their production one understands, but none the less admires—independent of all political differences—the "Iliad" of EARL DERBY and the "JUVEN-

[1] See Poems of Monarchy, stanza 406.

TUS MUNDI" of our living GLADSTONE, in our own days. All who love the memory of LORD BROOKE, know that in his Life of SIDNEY he has given a quaint and guileless account of his poetic studies and purposes, as well as of his intended Biography or History of the Reign of ELIZABETH. Thither my Readers will turn and return.[1]

The outward facts of our Worthy's life that remain are soon told. They embrace three reigns —that of ELIZABETH and of JAMES and of Charles the First—from all of whom he received many tokens of high estimate. I rejoice that I am enabled to publish, for the first time, various letters and papers shedding light on the main facts. I follow the chronology.

In December, 1595 there were certain complaints against "MR FULKE GREVILLE, for certain (alleged) abuses in KNACK-WOOD in Warwickshire" and "an information of £14,000 spoil". The thing was put by the Lords of Council in the hands of the illustrious LORD TREASURER and SIR JOHN FORTESCUE. It appears to have been determined in his favour. Contentions sprung of royal "grants" of land were very frequent—the Granter

[1] See in our Volume IVth.

rather than the beneficiary, being commonly blameable.

In October, 1597, he became Sir Fulke Greville, Knight, receiving the title along with others of mark. It meant then very much more than it has since done, or now does, under the reign of Plutocracy.[1]

In March, 1598, he "made interest" for the office of "Treasurer of the Wars"—our Secretary of War now, I suppose.[2] From observation and study he was preeminently qualified for such a post. Witness his "Of War" (two) and "Of Peace".

In the 41st of Elizabeth [or 1599—1600] he was appointed "Treasurer of Marine Causes" for life.[3] I have seen various warrants and accounts bearing his signature in this office. As during the Commonwealth a Blake was equally great on land as on sea, so, when in August, 1599, a rumour was bruited of another Armada to invade England, Sir Fulke was in event of it to have been Rear-Admiral.[4] From his high nature he

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[1] Collins' Sidneys, as before, Vol. I., p. 376, and *Ibid* Vol. II., p. 74. for the two facts.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 94.

[3] Dugdale, as before, Vol. II., p. 767.

[4] Collins' Sidney's, p. 113. as before.

would most certainly have proved of the true Sea-Lion breed. These giants of earlier and later days were fit and ready for almost any heroism or service man could do. A hitherto un-printed document gives us curious insight into the work the "Treasurer of Marine causes" had to oversee, and also of the economies practised in the England of ELIZABETH. Here it is:

fte^r or verie hartie Co̅mendacons. Whereas he^r Matie by the advise of me the Lord Admiralle and the reste of he^r Counsaile hath resolved that fo^r the better defence and safegarde of her Navie at Chatham, some fortification shalbe made at the Castle of Vpno^r, and hath comaunded vs to consider in what manner and fashion the same may beste be p'formed wth regard both to the strenght, and to her Ma^te['s] expence and whether of Tymber or of Stone, as als[o] of all other p'ticularities thereto app'teyning: Whereof wee have already spoken wth you Mr Grevill and have shewed vnto you p_r.cribed, such a forme of yt as wee thinke wilbe of beste vse. fforasmuch as yt is needull that her Matie be mo^r p'fectly informed, both of the charge of the said fortification and of all p'ticularities that shalbe resolved on, before the worke be

taken in hand or allowance of the said Charge be made fo$_r$ the same: Wee doe therefore pray and require you vnto whom this o^r l're is directed wth as much speed as convenie'tly you may, to repaire vnto the said Castle of Vp'no^r and there, vpon vewe of the place, to consider and observe what is meeteste in all respectes to be done fo^r the making of the said fortificat'one, and thereopon wth due regard that her Matie be not put to more charge then ys needfull, to deliver vnto vs yor opinion of all points of the said fortificat'on and also an estimat of the whole charge thereto belonging. W^e that you may doe the more readily and p'fectly wee doe require you also to call vnto you Will'm Spicer the Surveyo^r and Simon Basylt the Comptroller of her Ma^{tes} workes, Arthure Gregorie and Baptista, and to take the opinion of these according as every of them ys best able to give advise in his owne practize o^r facultie: And soe wee bidd you very hartely ffarewell ffrom the Courte at Nonesuch the xxvth of September. 1599

Yo^r very Loving ffrendes

T. Buchurst [*sic*] Notingham

Ro: Cecyll J: Fortescue

To o$_r$ very Loving frends S^r

John Leveson Knight & ffoulke Grevill,

esquior, Tresorer of the Navie or to either of them, in the absence of ffoulk Grivell to the rest of the Officers of the Admiralltie.[5]

In 1599—1600, having—as he thought—opportunity to serve a friend, Sir Fulke on a "Sunday morninge" being in London sent off a Letter. The Hickes of it was the Banker-friend of Bacon, a money-changer with a soul above mere money, who comes honourably up in contemporary annals and correspondence. Let us read this Letter—again hitherto unpublished:

Sr, cominge home yesterday from Chathm wher I haue byn this two dayes about the Queene's busines, I founde Doctor James was dead, wheruppon bethinckinge with my self his place for the keapinge of records in the Tower might be fitt for yor self, I presentlie sent to seeke yov heere, and findinge yov not, I sende this bearer purposelie to aduertise yov of the same: wherin if yov meane to engage yor frends, I will be very redie to ioyne wth them to the vttermost of my power to doe yov good. Therfore I prey e if yov take lykinge to yt, come presentlie hither that yov and I may Conferr together of some coorses, wch must

[5] Addl MSS. [B. Museum] 5752 fol. 374: Original.

neccessarielie be followed in the pursuit of this matter, And thus expectinge to heere from you I comende me very hartelie vnto you. ffrom the Austin ffriers this Sunday morninge xviiith. of Januarie 1600.

Yor. assured louinge frende
ffoulke Grevyll

I doe not forgett my kynde
Comendacons to Mrs. Hyckes: and
I write in Another Man's hande for
feare my owne wiil not be vnderstood.

To my verie louinge frende
Mr Michaell Hickes at
his house at Ruckalls. dd.[1]

In the 44th and last year of Elizabeth [1603]

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[1] Lansd. 88. fo. 2. [B. Museum] Original. As above Letter is literary I add here a small Note from the Cotton MSS. [Jul. C. III. f. 180]—probably addressed to Sir. Robert Cotton, who may have kept it as an autograph.

"Sr,

I retorne you this payer: certen words of it, I cannot reade; they are marked with a crosse in the margine against them & a lyne drawen vnder them; Be pleased to send me them faire written in a paper, and I shall thank you, as for all the rest of yor courtesies.

Yor lovinge frende,
ffulke Grevyll."

"having bought up from private hands some claims upon the manor of Wedgnock", he obtained from the Queen "a grant of the antient and spacious park thereunto belonging, for himself, his heirs, and assigns, in as ample a manner as John, Duke of Northumberland, or Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, had held it."[1] So that to the end the great Queen honoured her faithful servant. DUGDALE records other grants in Warwickshire. But behind these gifts and purchases our Worthy had his own pecuniary straits—so much so, that like BACON and others of the period, he has to turn to Master HICKES. I suspect our good Knight, were he alive, would have sharp words against me for the liberty I take: nevertheless it *is* a pleasure to me to bring forth from their resting-places a series of unpublished letters to HICKES that are of no common interest. I inter-calate only a very few words:

"S^r. the heavie burthen that is falne vppon me for the securinge of my whole estate, make[s] me to intreate yor fauour in this matter. I am to pay Sr Dauid Fowles 500^l at a verie short day, and haue noe other meanes to raise so greate a sume but by layenge all my plate to gage. I do therfore verie heartilie pray yo^v to be a meanes to

[1] B. B., as before, page 2395.

procure me such a some vppon a sufficient pawne of some good frend, whereby I may escape the rancor of the worlde, and leave my plate safe, eyther for three moneths or haulf a yeare. I will willingly geeve the vsuall consideracon, and take yt as a verie kynde favor at yor hands. And thus wth my very hartie com̄endacons to yo^{r}self and Mrs. Hyckes I comit yo^{u} to God. ffrom Harrold's P'ke this XVth of July, 1603.

Yo^{r} assured louinge frende,

ffulke Grevyll.

I write to you the rather because I am not well and cannot come to London to speake with yo^{v} myselfe."[1]

Hickes must instantly have attended to the little matter, for he received hearty thanks on the third day subsequent, in this Letter:

"S^{r} I thanck you verie hartilie for the paines you haue taken about this Monie: wherein I was more willinge to troble you, becawse I am verie loth to haue my name in question amongst them that practise in this kynde uppon the exchange. And if there bee noe remedie but wee must use theire help, lett me I pray you bee thus much more beholding unto you and your brother [in] law that

[1] Lansd 88., fo. 123: Original.

my plate may remayne in your hands & custodie, and that betwixt you the lenders may haue such securitie as may content them w^th^out notice of mee, or passage of my plate thorough unknown hands in this infectious tyme. So readie to deserue this kyndness in anie thing I may, I leaue you wth my hartie comendations to god's protection. Deptford, 18th July, 1603.

Your assured loving frend,

ffulke Grevyll.

To my verie wor^th[ie]^ frend,

Mr. Michael Hicks, &c."[1]

There are more than business-relations between the Banker and lord of Beauchamp. He is in residence at Wedgnock Park, and bethinks him of his friend, (now) Sir Michael Hickes, or rather of his "better part"—"better half" is our phrase—and sends a 'buck' with gallant words, as now we may read:

"Sr Michaell Hixe [*sic*] not to you, but to the better part of your selfe, I aduenture to send this buck. Yf he come not sweete and worthy of her, I am sorry, and the carrier is only to blame, whose diligence may eas'ly do it, and he is hyred and

[1] Lansd. 88. f. 125: Original.

Instructed of purpose. The noble Earle of Salisberry hathe taken a long Iourney out of his way to visit me and my poore Cottage: the honor he did me In it is more then I can deserve, but when he shall please to cōmand my service, he and the world shall see, that I am a more naturall subject to love then power. Good Sr. Michaell co'mend me to your selfe and the good woman, & let us sometymes this winter have your compaynies, for I unfeynedly love you bothe. From Wedgnock parke, this 27 of August.

Your true friend,

Fulke Grevyll.

To the right worshipfulll
his very good frend,
Sr. Michaell Hixe [*sic*].
give thes at Cuckolls.[1]"

Tidings of royal movements are wished: and so to the same "very louinge frende" goes forth this Letter:

"Sr Michaell, let me know by this bearer how my lady and you do, and by you as certeynly as you can what day the king removes to Royston: from hence you can expect nothing from your

[1] Endorsed 27 Aug. 1605 Sr. Foulk Greuill: Lansd. MS. 89. fo. 140: Original.

frends but comendations, and goodwill, wch I offer you bothe wth all my hart. Yf your leysure serve, a word how the nether howse and the Iudges agree about this naturalysation by Law, would be welcome & you shall comand more of me, whensoever I live In the light and you In darkness. Farwell good Sr Michaell & god prosper your lady wth all yours. From Edmington, this 3 of Marche

Your loving friend

Fulke Grevyll.

To the righte worshipfull his
verie louinge frende Sr
Michaell Hicks Knighte"[1]

Some years have elapsed, but the old friendship is true and strong as ever, as comes out pleasantly in our last letter of this group:

"Sr. Michaell Hicks, comend me kindly to your selfe and your good lady, & take this poore token In good part, only to bear witness, that I am not willing to forgett or be forgotten by suche harty frends and neghebors: we hear that my lord Treasurer, should be a little tryed wth a cold or Rheume [?] In his gumes: good Sr. wryte a word

[1] Endorsed "3 March 1606 Sr Foulke Grevill. Lansd. MS. 90. fo. 19: Original. Edmington = Edmonton near London.

how he dothe, by whome all will do muche the better. yf it please you to as[ke] after my healthe, In few words, I assure [y]ou my hearing is worse, since my cōming Into the Country, but my disposition of body shewing something better: and so wth my kind cōmendacions and wishing to you bothe as to my selfe, I cōmit you to god, from Compton in hast, this 29 of December,

Your assured loving frend,
Fulke Grevyll

pardon the mischaunce of this
peece of paper.

To the right worshippfull
his very good frend Sr.
Michael Hixe [*sic*] &c"[1]

Not wishing to interrupt the HICKES correspondence, I have delayed a Letter of 1606, addressed to the great "Earle of Salisbury"—like all the others hitherto unpublished. It concerns *the* Plot with which all England rang, and which inspired PHINEAS FLETCHER to sing his splendid "Locustæ" and "Apollyonists":

"Right honorable and my very good Lord, I have receaved the comfortable news of this late

[1] Endorsed. "29 Dec. 1610. Sr. Foulke Grevill. Lansd. MS. 91. fo. 214: Original.

conspiracy discoveryd and the honour your wysdom and diligence hathe won you in it, but withall the servants wryte to me that your Lordship hath never since bene well, which makes me persume to send this bearer only to knowe how you do: I can offer your Lordship no more then his humble service that it seemes is as unfortenate as they that wishe him worst would have him, and so desiring god to send you many happy dayes and more worthy frends I most humbly take my leave from Harrold's park this 12 of July,

Your honour's humble frend
& Servant
ffulke Grevyll".[1]

These Letters have swept us onward, somewhat over-hastily, seeing they cover 1594—1610. Returning to the first date [1594] all honour must be paid to our Worthy, in that he recognized and urged the claims of Bacon. Of this, two Letters from him to Bacon, and a third from Bacon in answer to the first, survive, and demand our loving regard The first is very brief, and serves as an introduction to the more important succeeding one:

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[1] Add. MSS. 6178, f. 178: Copy by Birch.

"Mr. Francis Bacon,

As my heart was full of your praise, so have I as freely delivered it to the Queen. When I see you, you shall know the particulars. In the meantime believe me her Highness was more gracious to you. Awake your friends. I have dealt with Sir John Fortescue and my Lord of Essex by letter. Neither will I neglect the rest for you. And so in haste I, commit you to God.

Your assured kind friend,

Foulke Greville.

I thought ere now to have come to you. To-morrow I will in the afternoon without fail."[1]

A month later, or thereby, there came this:

"Mr. Francis Bacon,

Saturday was my first coming to the Court, from whence I departed again as soon as I had kissed her Majesty's hands, because I had no lodging nearer than my uncle's, which is four miles off.

This day I came thither to dinner, and waiting

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[1] Spedding's Bacon: Life and Letters, I., p. 298: from Lambeth MSS. 650. 131. Original: own hand. Docketed, "Recd 27 May, 1594." I regret that I must content myself with Mr. Spedding's modernisation of the orthography—the one vice of his noble edition of Bacon—in these Bacon-Greville Letters.

for to speak with the Queen, took occasion to tell how I met you as I passed through London: and among other speeches how you lamented your misfortune to me, that remained as a withered branch of her roots, which she had cherished and made to flourish in her service. I added what I thought of your worth; and the expectation for all this that the world had of her princely goodness towards you; which it pleased her Majesty to confess that indeed you began to frame very well, insomuch as she saw an amends in those little supposed errors, avowing the respect she carried to the dead, with very exceeding gracious inclination towards you. Some comparisons there fell out besides, which I leave till we meet, which I hope shall be this week. 'It pleased her withal to tell of the jewel you offered by Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, which she had refused, yet with exceeding praise. I marvelled that as a prince, she would refuse those homages of poor subjects, because it did include a final sentence of despair; but either I deceive myself, or she was resolved to take it: and the conclusion was very kind and gracious. So as I will lay £100 to £50, that you shall be her Solicitor, and my friend; in which mind, and for which mind, I commend you

to God and man. From the Court this Monday, in haste.

Your true friend to be commanded by you,

Foulke Greville."

We cannot tell whether she come to Hampton on Friday, or stay here. I am much absent for want of lodging; wherein my own man hath only been to blame.[1]"

Every one knows that FLEMING, not Bacon, became 'Solicitor': so that our Greville forfeited his £100.

To the first letter, BACON returned this characteristic answer:

"Sir,

I understand of your pains to have visited me, for which I thank you. My matter is an endless question. I assure you I had said *Requiesce anima mea*: but I now am otherwise put to my psalter; *Molite confidere*. I dare go no

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[1] *Ibid*, page 302: from Lambeth MSS. 650. 132. Original?: docketed, "17me de June, 1594. To Mr. Spedding's query after original, I answer, probably not. In Addl MSS. [B. Museum] 4112. fol. 45., two different readings are noticeable: viz., "I marvel," *not* "I marvelled" and "Sure as" not "So as".: also Hav'ringe not Hampton.

further. Her Majesty had by set speech more than once assured me of her intention to call me to her service; which I could not understand but of the place I had been named to. And now whether *invidus homo hoc fecit;* or whether my matter must be an appendix to my Lord of Essex suit; or whether her Majesty, pretending to prove my ability, meaneth but to take advantage of some errors which, like enough, at one time or other I may commit; or what it is; but her Majesty is not ready to despatch it. And what though the Master of the Rolls, and my Lord of Essex, and yourself, and others, think my case without doubt, yet in the meantime I have a hard condition, to stand so that whatsoever service I do her Majesty, it shall be thought to be but *servitium viscatum*, lime-twigs and fetches to place myself; and so I shall have envy, not thanks. This is a course to quench all good spirits, and to corrupt every man's nature; which will, I fear, much hurt her Majesty' service in the end. I have been like a piece of stuff bespoken in the shop; and if her Majesty will not take me, it may be the selling by parcels will be the more gainful. For to be as I told you, like a child following a bird, which when he is nearest flieth away and lighteth a little before, and

then the child after it again, and so *in infinitum*, I am weary of it; as also of wearying my good friends: of whom, nevertheless, I hope in one course or other gratefully to deserve. And so not forgetting your business, I leave to trouble you with this idle letter, being but *justa et moderata querimonia:* for indeed I do confess, *primus amor* will not easily be cast off. And thus again I commend me to you."[1]

Mr. Spedding finds difficulty in determining the date of this Letter: but the promise of Greville in his first Letter to visit him, is plainly referred to, and the 'errors' are equally plainly noticed in his second: so that the date is shewn to have been between 27th May and 17th June, 1594. In connection with the often-named Essex and the traditional charge against Bacon of ingratitude to him, it is of vital importance to remember, that notwithstanding their blood-relationship as 'cousins', and notwithstanding the warmth of their friendship, Fulke Greville was of the chosen band, who accompanied the Lord Lieutenant in assailing "the garden and banqueting-house on the waterside" in the arrest

[1] *Ibid*, page 359: from Rawley's 'Resuscitatio', Supplement, page 89.

of Essex. Even Hepworth Dixon has overlooked this fact[1] Nor is it of less moment also to remember that Sir Fulke, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, shares the responbility of the Peacham case.[2]

Later—as our Lord Brooke's 'Speech' given in his Prose, shews,—Bacon received further proof of the steadfastness of his Friend.

From the "Journal of Parliament" of Sir Symonds d'Ewes it appears that our Knight not only 'served' as a Member of the House of Commons—which from his offices he must have done—for his native Warwickshire: but took part effectively in the Debates. No less than Bacon in a Letter to the King reporting the hearing of St. John's cause in the Star-chamber: (29th of April, 1615,) thus praises our Greville; "Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer spake finely, somewhat after the manner of my late Lord Privy Seal; not all out so sharply, but as elegantly."[3] More honouring still, he has preserved in his

[1] See Spedding as before: Life and Letters, Vol. II., page 273.

[2] See Spedding, *Ibid*, Vol. V., py. 92, 135.

[3] See Spedding, as before, Vol. V. p. 135: See too our Note to Speeches in Vol. IVth, for more details on his Parliamentary attendance and services.

"Apophthegemes, new and old" (1625) one sententious 'Speech' in the House. Here it is: "Sir Fulke Grevill in Parliament, when the Lower House in a great business of the Queen's, stood much upon precedents, said unto them; 'Why should you stand so much upon precedents? the times hereafter will be good or bad; if good, precedents will do no harm; if bad, power will make a way where it finds none".[1] In the same collection of 'wise and pithy sayings', Bacon has recorded very graciously another 'little speech' upon idle gossips of the Court concerning him. Thus it runs: "Sir Fulke Grevill had much and private access to Queen Elizabeth, which he used honourably, and did many men good: yet he would say merrily of himself "That he was like Robin Goodfellow: for when the maids spilt the milk-pans or kept any racket, they would lay it upon Robin: So what tales the ladies about the Queen told her, or other bad offices that they did, they would put it upon him".[2] Sir Robert Naunton

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[1] Works of Bacon by Spedding, vii. 153. He notes the various reading from Rawley, "when the House of Commons in a great business stood, &c.'

[2] *Ibid* p 158: and see speeches in our Vol. IV. in Prose Works.

has summarized his 'character' as one of ELIZABETH's 'courtiers and favourites' and it may as well be read now: "Sir Fulke Grevill, since Lord Brook, had no mean place in her favour, neither did he hold it for a short term; for, if I be not deceived, he had the longest lease and the smoothest time, without rub, of any of her favourites. He came to the Court in his youth and prime: for that is the time or never. He was a brave gentleman, and honourably descended from Willoughby, Lord Brook and admiral to Henry VIIth. Neither illiterate: for he was, as he would often profess, a friend to Sir Philip Sidney: and there are of his now extant, some fragments of his poems, and of those times, which do interest him in the Muses: and which show the Queen's election had euer a noble conduct, and it [the poetry], motions more of vertue and judgment than of fancy. I find that he neither sought for or obtained any great place or preferment in Court, during all the time of his attendance; neither did he need it; for he came thither backed with a plentiful fortune; which, as himself was wont to say, was the better held together, by a single life, wherein he lived and died, a constant courtier of the ladies".[1]

[1] "Fragmenta Regalia, or Observations on the late

James VI. of Scotland and Ist of England, shambled into the august throne of Elizabeth: and he "*knew* Joseph." In 1603, he was created Knight of the Bath at the coronation, and not long after had a royal grant of the (then) ruinous Castle of Warwick—on which he lavished enormous sums, until it was the boast of the county, and of England, as it remains still, through its magnificent reach of wall, and towered battlements, and craggy precipices, and pleasant gardens, and parks, and walks, as expatiated on in admiring phrase by Sir William Dugdale:[1] The old "Biographia Britannica," in relation to the preceding grant, and another of "the manor and lands of Knowle" remarks with penetrativeness, but forgetful of his life-held appointments in Wales, and over the Navy: "he tasted the royal bounty, as yet, more in such grants of land, than any offices in the State. Indeed, he seems to have had more temptation to divert himself with

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Queen Elizabeth's times and favourites": 1642, p 30 (4to). The word 'fragments' used by Naunton, is explained by the Poems of Monarchy and Treatise of Religion not having then been published. They first appeared in the "Remains" of 1670.

[1] "Warwickshire," as before: also Wood's Athenæ and Collins, as before.

his buildings and his books for some years at least, in the former part of this reign, than to pursue his interest at Court, where he met with discouragements from some persons in power, perceived the measures of government and management of the State quite altered, waining from the lustre in which he had seen it shine, and found little hopes of being preferred to anything considerable in the ministry: therefore he seems to have formed some schemes of retirement, that he might as much as possible, live over again the glorious times he had been witness of in the late reign, by recalling the particulars thereof to his memory, and recording the same with his pen, which he proposed to confirm with the most authentic vouchers in being: but how posterity came to be deprived of his said intended Life or History of Queen Elizabeth, his own words may best declare·"[1] Sorrowfully true—with the life-posts excepted—as well in the 'waining lustre' as in Cecils's fast and-loose-conduct in the matter of the 'vouchers', with such antique dignity told in the Life of Sidney. Nevertheless, it is due to the ignoble memory of James to remember that under him our Worthy kept all his former offices,

[1] Page 2396.

and that onward—in 1614—he was appointed under-Treasurer, and then fully,—Cecil being now gone—Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Privy-Counsellor, and more personally, one of the gentlemen of the Bedchamber.[1] Moreover, in 1617, he obtained a special charter, "confirming all such liberties as had been granted to any of his ancestors, in behalf of the town of Alcester, [Warwickshire] upon a new rent of ten shillings per annum, then reserved to the said king, his heirs and successors".[2] Finally, in 1620, he was created a Baron of the Realm, by the title of Lord Brooke, of Beauchamps-Court, "with limitation of that honour, for lack of issue male of his own body, untoo Robert Greville, son of Fulke, son of Robert, a younger son of the first Fulke".[3]

It is again, a thousand pities that Family-papers and Correspondence covering so transcendent a period, should still remain in private keeping. It were of the last interest to get at the views of a Chancellor of the Exchequer, for example, of capacity so absolute, on the 'taxations' by Will not Law, of the time.

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[1] Dugdale, as before. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid:* and his Baronage, Vol. II., 442 b.

I know not that until William Ewart Gladstone filled the office, England has had a wiser or more supremely qualified Chancellor. He had all the present Lowe's brain-power, without his cynicism and malice of provocation.

Only two additional Letters, one on the Spanish 'Marriage' Expedition and another on the Palatinate have been preserved, so far as known. I have disentombed them, like the previous—the one from the Tanner and the other from the Harleian, MSS: and here they are,—one, gay, chatty, pleasant, albeit we had welcomed worthier topic: the other passionate, stern, almost accusing, spite of its courteousness and courtliness of phrase. I give them successively:

"Right Honoble & my verie good Lo:

A short blessing, is euer welcome to a good Childe; and a quarrell for omission of dutie, from such a Grandfather, is a greater bond of kindness, then a mother's blessing in a Clout. Therefore (noble lord) to make good this, and some amends for my negligence, Let mee pray God to prserue you, in the heat of Spayne, Spring of the yeare, and my grandmother's absence; from strong wyne, vyolent exercise, and delicate woemen. More then Complement, what can you expect from him, to whome you comaund nothing; a man old,

without office, imployment, or particuler intelligence in anything. Nevertheles (worthy Lord) if the proverbe be true that lookers on maie see sometymes as much as players can doe, then beleiue, that I will carefully attend my Souer-aigne's provident eye ouer all that concernes yo^{u} and if I finde any draught play'd amisse in yor game, as confidently presume to acquaint him: Hee can doe what hee will, and in my conscience will doe what hee can.

Touching this noble worke yo^{u} are in hand with, I will say noe more but BLESSED BE THE WOEING THAT IS NOT LONGE IN DOEING; especially after soe many yeares spent in deliberate treaties about it: The God of love and hono^{r} forbidd, that anie aduantageous wisdome whatsoeuer should eclipse, qualify, yea or mingle it selfe, wth these hazardous trauells of our brave Prince's affections to bringe home his equall. I will therefore hope, that it is among Kinges and Princes as wth private men, where wee see suspition to begett suspition, caution to bringe forth caution; and contrariwise, a gallantnesse of proceeding, to haue as gallant a manner of retorne: Their part is yet behinde for the consum̃ation of all. In the cariage of which, your Lordshipp shall haue iust cause to observe, that howsoeuer

(in petty thinges) the spreading Scepter of Spayne maie seeme to bend vnder the Myter of Rome, yet in regalities and things of high nature, I presume you shall see, it reserues a more suplatyve greatness, then other petty Soueraignes of the same faith doe, or dare imagine.

I seriously wish this hasty errand ended, and your selues at home; where you shall finde your old graundchilde hartely devoted, to lyve, and dye.

Yo^{r} Lo^{pps} loving and
humble servant.
F. Brooke.

Whitehall this 10th
of Aprill 1623.

Lo: Marquesse Buckingham.
To the Right Hono^{ble} and
my verie good Lord, the Lo:
Marquess Buckingham
Lo: High Admirall of
England &c."

Now for a 'weighty' Letter on the Palatinate,—the original worn and injured and so having *lacunæ*, but quick and potent as when written. Buckingham in his levity I fear, would scarce read the warning, wise, proud, brave words, pulsating with memories of the great dead Queen:

" May it please your Grace.

Out of Spaine, wee heare the world comes so fast aft . . . . your departure,) as wee assure our selues this great worke is at a good . . . with contentent to our blessed Prince, and like a princely treaty wth . . . . . of honor to the Monarchy hee intendes to match with.

But (Sr) wee heare of a new treaty sprunge vpp, hetween the Palsgraue's oldest sonne, and the Emperors younger daughter; A Labarinth, into which what hope soeuer leade vs, I feare, no one threed will be able to guide vs well out. Because in the passages between these farr distant Princes, education of children seemes like to be demaunded. Ballancing of counsell, to the jealousy of friends. Question whether the Palatinate shalbe deliuered in the nonage before mariage, or after. Then whether sequestred into a Catholique, or Protestant's hands. If into a Catholique a probable argument that both it and the Voltaline are equally reserued free to fall with associated forces, vpon our anntient Bulwarke the Netherland's at pleasure. Lastly, whether the Myter, and these Scepters thus vnited, with their advantage in nomber both of swordes and deskes abroad, Their new springing party at

home, Strengthes by sea and land, Constant ambition of adding Crowne to Crowne, and perfect Auditt of their neighbors powers and humors (even while the second heyre Male of this kingdome shall lyve in the hande of enemyes, or Strangers) I say, whether these will not prove fearefull inequalities; casuall to the liues of our kinge, and Prince, daungerous to the Crowne by changing successyve rightes into tenures of Curtesy, and chargiuge of the peoples consciences, with visions of confusion or bondage.

Againe (Sr) Admitt this new project should vanish into smo . . . . . as vndisgested vapors vse to doe, yet giue me leaue to question, ... to your Grace, whoe have overtly protested against the intri . . . . . of the Spanyard, even this spetious issue of the Palatinat's, ... before consuam̄con of marriage, be not like to prove mother of ma . . . . . colourable and un-avoydeable delayes. Because suppose . . . . should be grannted yet whoe sees not that the affecting of it, will prove an Act of soe many partes, videlicet Pope, Emperor, Kinge of Spajne, Duke of Bauaria, &c (and of soe great consequence ioyntly and seuerally to them all,) as must of necessitie require diuers Assemblies, Comissions, home Diotts, [*sic*]

&c. And then what tyme the execution of the Minute vnder these heades, will demaund, hee that knowes the diuers-nature of nations in treating, may verie easily conceaue.

To begin with the least. What money or other condicons can be offered, like to satisfy, the honor, humor, and huge expence of the Bauarian, for quitting his conquest to soe vn-reconcileable a neighbor? and if there be possibiltie, yet out of whose estate or treasurie are these condicons or proportons of Dowry, probably to be expected?

Touching the Emperor. Is there any forreigne Alliance able to perswade this prince; whoe having by an vntimely warr chang'd all tenures of elecc̄on, into succession, and thereby shaken the auntient freedome of our German Princes, what I say can in likely good wynne him, to restore these dead forces of his enemyes, to the p'iudice of all hee enioyes, or aspires?

Beside what shall move the Emperor, to take away the bann from the Palsgraue's person whoe hath so desperately hazarded, not only his owne priuate kingdomes and prouince, [? promise] but by his vndertaking waved the mayne ambition of the Austrian family.

For the Spanish kinge if hee be prest, his answere will be ready, and faire, that he hath not

right in him (but mediation) as appeares by the diuisions already made. Notw'thstanding how little right soeur hee pr'tends, yet his Councell, his instrumte, his charge by diuersion, overt ayd, insensible succors, (the world sees) have bin vsed in all these warres: Soe as this, together with his right by stronge hand gotten (and kept by arte of depositing) vpon the Voltaljne, may lead vs to discerne cleerly, that hee findes the passage of his forces through them, equall, and so reserues both, to over-run the lowe Countries when hee pleases: Against which little State, (whether out of revenge, or ambition of greater conquestes by them) hee will constantly carry a watchfull and griping enemye's hand . . . .

Concerning the Pope, whoe knowes not that his . . . . . Supremacy (howsoeur [he] dissembles,) yeth hath, doth, and euer will pr . . . . holynes, to stirr vpp colourable warrs of religion, Since warrs, contento . . and tumultes among Princes have bin his old way of adding more u . . . and power to his sanctified Sea, how I say this new fashion'd Monarch shalbe wonne to suffer Heidelberge (the most dangerous nest of heretiques after Geneua) to returne to her former strength, is a point beyond my capacity.

By these short, hasty, and vnp'fect Images, yor Grace may yett iudge, that except the restitutoñ of the Palatinate be instantly pressed (and like a worke of faries either finished or broken of at once), wee may eas'ly be overshott in our owne bowes, by having the strengthes and free Councell of England, Scotland & Ireland during this treaty, kept vnder, a kinde of Couert-baron, [*sic*] and soe longe, made a forge for other Princes ends, as my blessed Soueraigne's trust may perchance finde it self, compeld to play an after-Game, among'st discouraged freinds, and combination of powerfull enemyes, Such, as vnder Caracters of Allyance will thinke they haue woonne one great stepp, towarde their inveterate ambition of a westerne Monarchy.

Noble Duke, If you finde mee lifted above my earth, in handling a Subject to which I am vtterly a stranger; yet beare with a Moncke humo^{r}, in a man that is prisoner to old age, hide my folly from the eyes of Criticke. And pardon his freedome that hath wearied yo^{u}, with a mynde euer to remayne.

Y^{r} Grace's
Loving Grandchild . . .
&
humble servant . . . .
F Br . . . .

For the Duke of Buckingham's Grace.
Brookhouse, this 11th [address]
of November, 1623.
Duke of Buckingham."[1]

Charles, 'the prince' of the above Letter, succeeded his father in 1625: and LORD BROOKE continued a "Counsellor of State". But his name does not come up in the three years of this reign that he saw. He seems again to have preferred retirement and literary leisure. He had intimate relations with the foremost intellectual men of his age, and had an observant eye over the progress of thought and opinion, and for Workers. His friendship for SIDNEY is immortal, and need not be dwelt on here. In our Introduction to the 'Life', in his Prose, I give SIDNEY's fine commemoration in verse, of his three-fold friendship.[2] It is to his imperishable honour that earlier, as already seen—and on to the deep-shadowed Fall, he stood true to BACON—who submitted his Henry VIIth to his 'animadversion'.[3] Then CAMDEN was appointed Clarencieux

[1] Harleian MS: 1581, fol. 270: original; and Tanner MSS. Vol. 73, fol. 382.

[2] See also there, new letters of Lord Brooke on Sidney.

[3] It may be well to give in a note all that B. B. says on this: "The Lord Bacon had such an opinion of his knowledge, judgment, and friendly regard to his fame

through his influence,[3] and in his will the illustrious Antiquary left him a piece of plate,[4]—the 'plate'

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and credit, that he submitted his Life of Henry the VII, to his perusal and animadversions: and the respect and value which the Lord Brooke expressed for the said performance upon his return of it, is preserved by the said Lord Bacon's Chaplain, in the short account he has given of him [Dr. William Rawley's Life of the Lord Bacon, before his Works, folio 1670]. In Easter-Term, 1618, an information being submitted by Sir Henry Yelverton, Attorney-General, in the Star-Chamber, against one Wraynam, for his libellous defamations of the said Lord-Chancellor Bacon; the Lord Brooke and other Lords of the Council there present, did all censure the said unwarrantable accuser, in support of the noble character that was so injuriously treated; as by his, and their several speeches may appear. [In a Vindication of the Lord-Chancellor Bacon from the aspersions of injustice cast upon him by Mr. Wraynham, &c. (first published from the MS by W. O. Printed for J. Peel in Paternoster Row, 8vo 1725, p. 37, &c.] See also Wrenham's case in Popham's Reports, 2nd edition, fol. 1582, p. 137. And long after the said Lord Chancellor's fall, even in the last year of his life the brief but bri liant character which was given by him of this peer, as has been before quoted, may sufficiently prove the falsehood of that idle story in a satirical historian, who reports that the Lord Brook's butler had orders to refuse a messenger who came from Lord Bacon (then retired to his chambers in Gray's Inn)

nothing however, compared with his acknowledgment in "Britannia" under Warwickshire, thus: "this Sir Fulke Grevil doth so entirely devote himself to the study of real vertue and honour, that the nobleness of his mind far excels that of his birth; for whose extraordinary favours, though I must despair of making suitable returns, yet whether speaking or silent, I must euer preserve a grateful remembrance of them," The indefatigable JOHN SPEED thus gratefully acknowledged his indebtedness to him: "whose merits to me-wards, I do acknowledge in setting this hand free from the daily employment of a manual trade, and giving it full liberty thus to follow the inclination of my mind, himself being the procurer of my present estate."[5] Having instituted a Professor of History chair at CAMBRIDGE, he gave it first to the celebrated DORI-

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to beg for a bottle of his beer, when he could not relish that which was provided for the Commons in the said Inn. [Arthur Wilson's life of James I. fol. 1653: anno 1621.] pp. 2400—1: note K.

[3] Wood's Athenæ, II. 342.

[4] *Ibid*, 348.

[5] Speed's "Prospects of the most famous parts of the World, fol. 1646. p. 53.

SLAUS of Holland.[1] To him Dr. John Overall was indebted for being made Dean of St. Paul's.[2] The poets SAMUEL DANIEL, HENRY LOK, JOHN DAVIES of Hereford, RICHARD FLECKNOE and BISHOP CORBET severally addressed words of 'golden

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[1] This History-Lecture, Baker (Hist. of St. John's, i., 212) speaks of as 'lost by the iniquity of the times' like the Saxon lecture founded by Spelman, and other things of the same kind. Baker died in 1740. But Carter in his History of Cambridge, (1753) at p. 459 has the following paragraph: "History Professors. Founded by Fulk Grevile, Lord Brooke, knight of the Bath, with a salary of 100*l* per ann. 1. Isaac Dorislaus, LL.D., of Trinity College, (I think); he was killed in Holland in 1649 by a party of Royalists, for being so deeply engaged in the murder of K. Charles I. He was Envoy at the Hague for the Parl. 2. 3. 4. Dr. George, Canon of Carlisle. 4. Dr. Holmes. 1736. But whether it has quite failed, and by what means I cannot find. My friend Mr. W. A. Wright, as before, has forwarded me an extract about this History Lecture from the Catalogue of Baker MSS in the University Library. The Biographia Britannica, also mentions MSS. relating to it in Caius and Gonville Colleges: p. 2400. It seems strange and inexplicable, that present posessors of the lands whereon this £100 for the History-chair was laid should not still be liable to meet the charge so laid on them 'for ever'.

[2] Wood's Athenæ, as before,

praise' to him.[1] The SONNET of LOK—a very remarkable type of Poet—occurs in his "Svndry Christian Passions contained in Two Hundred Sonnets" which follow his "Ecclesiastes" (1597). From its own merit, and the extreme rarity of the book wherein it is found, I select it for quotation here:

"To the vertuous gentleman Fulke Greuill Esquire.
Who can of learning treat, and you forget?
Who may of vertue talke, and you neglect?
Who would true fame from your due praises let?
Who should not—knowing you—your love affect?
I therefore forcèd am in this respect,
To offer publikely for you, to reed
The thing the which vncrau'd you would protect,
If—by malignor's blame—it stood in need:
In diuerse, diuersely this worke will breed
I know; an humor in the censurer's braine;
The wisest, on the best contents will feed;
The curious—for some scapes—count all but vaine:
But of the better sort true prayse must grow;
The prayse of some as meere disprayse I know."[2]

Sir WILLIAM DAVENANT, when a young man, was 'received' into LORD BROOKE's household: and

[1] I give in Introductory Note to "Mustapha" these various tributes to Lord Brooke. See our Volume IIId.

[2] This is the 35th Sonnet.

the student of "Gondibert" discerns the influence of the Master on his scholar in that great-thoughted poem.[1]

Thus variously and pleasantly related to the Past, and to the rising generation, our Worthy passed beyond the "three score years and ten" and had every prospect of quietly, serenely attaining "by reason of strength" the "four score years." But a crazed "antient servant" of the name of Haywood, finding that he was not named in his Master's Will, stabbed him in the back with a knife and then in a frenzy slew himself. This tragic event took place in September, 1628, in his own residence of Brook-house, Holborn, London. And so "he died", in a good old age.[2] He had erected for himself in St. Mary's Church, Warwick, a stately if somewhat hearse-like Monument: and there he "sleeps well." The inscription, of his own composition is still to be read, as follows:[3]

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[1] Wood, as before.

[2] See a full discussion of the murder in Appendix to this Memorial-Introduction, taken from Biographia Britannica.

[3] Curiously enough, the exact orthography of this memorable epitaph does not seem anywhere to have been given until now. I owe thanks to the present Incumbent for his pains-taking attention. Even in the "Worthies

Fvlke Grevill
Servant to Qveene Elizabeth
Conceller to King Iames
Frend to Sir Philip Sidney.
Trophæum Peccati.

The meaning of 'trophæum peccati' has been thought obscure. Julius Lloyd, M.A., in his Life of Sir Philip Sidney interprets it as meaning 'an honourable friendship is a trophy which holds up one's faults to reproof': and he recals "In Memoriam".

> "All these have been, and thee mine eyes,
> Have look'd on: if they look'd in vain,
> My shame is greater who remain,
> Nor let thy wisdom make me wise."[1]

But surely this is putting a meaning into rather than giving the meaning itself, which seems simply to be 'The trophy [or memorial] of sin,' which the grave is till the Resurrection. It

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of Warwickshire", recently issued by a Warwick publisher, it is incorrectly given: and the Notices or Memoirs therein of the Grevilles—including our Lord Brooke—are discreditably meagre and blundering, shewing not jot or tittle of original research.

[1] pp 50—51.

reminds us of Robert Burton's "*Paucis notus*", and later, of Vaughan's "*Peccator maximus*", and Washbourne's "*Primus peccatorum*".

Martin Peerson in his "Mottects or Grave Chamber Mvsique" (1630), has a "Mourning Song" on the sorrowful death. The words are more plaintive than poetic, more loving than memorable; but they claim preservation here—all the more that the copy in the British Museum and another in the renowned Library of Britwell are the only ones known to survive:

I.

"Where shall a sorrow great enough be sought
For this sad ruine which the Fates haue wrought:
Vnlesse the Fates themselves should weepe and wish
Their curblesse powers had been control'd in this?
For thy losse, worthiest Lord, no mourning eye
Has flood enough: no Muse, nor elegie
Enough expresssion to thy worth can lend;
No, though thy Sidney had suruiu'd his friend.

II.

Dead, noble Brooke shall bee to us a name
Of griefe and honour still: whose deathlesse fame
Such vertue purchased as makes vs to bee
Vniust to Nature in lamenting thee;
Wayling an olde man's fate, as if in pride
And heate of youth hee had vntimely dy'd.[1]

[1] I have had a collation made with the reprint in the

The light has its shadow, and the larger the mass of light the greater the breadth of shadow: and so a contemporary epitaph-elegy by some contemporary rhymster has been brought forth from its obscurity, afresh to slander the venerable and radiant memory of our Worthy. As in duty bound, perhaps, I will place it in our Appendix: but I must beg the Reader of the pitiable as malignant doggerel to remember that such libels on the great dead have been unhappily too common, and also to note specially, that among the British Museum MSS., there is preserved a defence of Haywood [not Howard as in Epitaph] the murderer of his lord: [Addl. MSS., 4839, art. 27: quoted in B. B.] and most probably from the same pen. It looks as though the rhyming creature had been thinking of the earlier 'murderer' (*not* murdered) GREVILLE of Milcote. Be this as it may, the whole facts of his Life evidence

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'British Bibliographer' Vol. II. pp 321—2. The 'Mottects' is dedicated to Robert, Lord Brooke, who fell in Lichfield as every one who knows the history of the time remembers. Very pitiable is Laud's glee over the death, none the less that it rests on a base of superstition guising itself as Christianity; and scarcely less deplorable Sir Walter Scott's words on the accident in Marmion.

that so far from having been niggardly and penurious, Lord Brooke was generous and open-handed to lavishness. Yet is 'miserliness' the burden of this epitaph- scribbler![1]

In an Essay prefixed to our second volume of the Works, I give in full, my high but I believe just, estimate of Lord Brooke as a Thinker and a Poet. Thither I refer my Readers, if they kindly please. Summarily it may be remarked here, that until the materials believed still to be extant in the archives of the present representatives of the Family—in its various branches—are brought forth, justice cannot be done to this noble, true, pure, potential Life, at England's greatest. If my words might hope to reach these descendants and custodiers, I would in the interest of our national History, in the interest of our national Literature, in the interest of their own truest glory, and in discharge of a responsibility inevitable by possession, appeal to them to follow the example of other (not more illustrious) Houses, and let this generation know more of one concerning whom so little adequate personally, is known. Moreover I cannot but

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[1] See in Appendix B: the Epitaph itself.

indulge a hope that among the Family-papers of this great *Warwickshire* House letters and other Memorials of SHAKESPEARE himself are lying all undreamed of. It seems to me an incredible thing that one so intellectually and not merely tastefully literary and a near neighbour, held no intercourse with the foremost man of all Time.

Looking at the portraits of LORD BROOKE—repeatedly reproduced in engraving—you recognize instantly a 'king of men'. The square, domed forehead is in truth a very 'palace of the soul', where as William Hunnis in the "Paradyse of Dainty Devises" sang,

"Thought hath thrild and throwne his speares":

the eyes are large, lustrous, skyey, burdened, even sad; the lips seem to me extraordinary in their evident mobility and strength and mirth; the chin is fine; the whole head wearing its silver crown of "gray hairs", and girt as it is with ancient quaintness of dress, intellectual, heroic, and yet gentle.

His Works I take to be merest playthings compared with what he could have produced. Perchance he disdained more—disdained deliberate literary service. Be this as it may, the more I study that Face and these "Remaines" the more I

feel that nothing could have been impossible to a brain so wide and strong, so compacted and vigilant, so thorough and radiant, spite of the Moses-like, "stammering lips."

ALEXANDER B. GROSART.

St. George's, Blackburn, Lancashire.

Appendix.

A: THE MURDER OF LORD BROOKE:

FROM BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA (PP. 2400—2).

"THERE are many instances of his favor and beneficence to learning and learned men; and many of them have not only amply celebrated his excellent sense and ingenuity, but gratefully acknowledged his extraordinary liberality towards and patronage of them, in the dedication of books and poems and other literary honours they paid him; which makes it the more surprizing that the same nobleman, a man of such parts as could relish and cherish those who were endowed with the best; a man also of such affluence and interest, as to gain the esteem and commendations of so many ingenious persons abroad, so many humble servants without doors, for his friendly gratifications or preferment of them, should at last fall a sacrifice to the incensed and violent hand of a discontented and mortal enemy at home, because he had served him faithfully for many years, without any such reward or prospect of provision, as would afford him a competent subsistance, if his lordship should die before him, as the most early and authentic accounts which have been published of this fatal event are commonly interpreted; which inform us, that his lordship neglecting or delaying to reward one Mr. Ralph Haywood—for that was his

Christian name as it is remembered in one author [Mr. Richard Smith's Obituary in Fr. Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, folio, 1732 : lib xiv. p 12]—an antient servant who had spent the greatest part of his time in attendance upon him, and expostulating thereupon with his lord, was so severely reproved for the same, that the said Haywood being then with him in his lordship's bed-chamber, at Brook-house in Holborn, gave him a mortal stab in the back with a knife, on the first of September, 1628, and with the same knife stabbed himself, as in the last quoted author it is expressed. Another says, that it was on the thirtieth of September the same year, that his lordship was stabbed [Dugdale's Warwickshire, as above] ; and another, not mentioning the day he received the wound, agrees with the generality, that it was on this day he died in that year, being aged seventy-four years [Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 522 in the life of Lord Brook] : and both of them imply that the weapon wherewith the murder was committed, was a sword, with which the assassin having withdrawn, and locked himself into another room, to compleat the bloody scene, murdered himself, making his own hand the executioner of justice, and death his choice, which should have been his punishment [Langbaine's Dramatic Poets, 4to. in his account of Lord Brook.]. It has been credibly reported that there remained no written memorial or tradition in this noble family of any other cause or reason for the said Mr. Haywood's extraordinary discontent, than what is above specified ; but of late some further particulars have appeared in print, relating to the confirmation and aggravation thereof. For the Lord Brook having settled the

whole of his estate upon his cousin Robert Grevile aforesaid, by his last will and testament, he executed the same on the eighteenth of February foregoing, which was witnessed by several gentlemen then in his service, among whom was this Haywood. And some months after, a codicil was added, wherein annuities were granted to those gentlemen but Haywood omitted, which made him resent the neglect of him to such a degree, as produced the warm expostulation between them, with the tragedy of both before mentioned. Before he died, his lordship ordered another short codicil to be added to his will, in which he left handsome legacies to the surgeons and others who attended him on this occasion. [Mr. Collins., in his account of the Greviles as before, p 32, 33]. A remark or two more upon this unfortunate catastrophe, we shall remit to the bottom of the page." These additional remarks are in note L as follows, and as stated in our prefatory note furnish a probable explanation of the cancelled pages in the folio of 1633.

"A remark or two more upon this unfortunate catastrophe . . . . . And first there seems reason to suspect that the knowledge of this murder, or the most prevailing motive to it, has been endeavoured to be concealed from the public and posterity. When the first collection of his lordship's poetical works was first published in folio, as is before observed, so soon after his death as five years, it might reasonably be expected that dedication, account of the author's life, or preface, would have appeared before them, in which the said murder, and the true motives to it, might be more accurately and particularly related than we have since had them : and so perhaps

they were; for we have frequently observed, in at least ten or a dozen copies of that folio volume, and some of them printed on large paper, bound in Turkey leather, and most richly adorned with gold, and most freshly, fairly, and choicely preserved, that they are all imperfect, and deprived or mutilated of whatever introduction they had to them. For after the contents of the volume, which are printed on the back of the title page, we jump at once to number 23 at the top of the next page, where the first poem begins, and the signature D at the bottom of it; so that by both testimonies, there are twenty-two pages manifestly wanting. And as no author who has wrote of this nobleman or his writings, has hitherto taken any notice of, or made any remarks upon this deficiency, we must, till we have some better light to guide or help us to account for it, follow such as occurs from the most rational probability that there was some private discovery too expressly mentioned for the perusal of the public, therefore that his lordship's executors, relations &c., obliged the publisher to castrate such prefatory discourses, and suppress the same." The further remarks consist of quotations from a Manuscript on "dependents" and "masters" pointing a 'moral' from Lord Brooke's neglect, or as it is called 'parcemonious' treatment of Haywood. It is not worthwhile producing the thing here, but as stated at the close of our Memoir it is of the last importance to keep in mind the existence of this Manuscript "of patronage and dependency occasioned by the death of Fulke Grevile, Lord Brook, who was stabbed by his gentleman [!!] Ralph Haywood". I repeat, the epitaph-libeller and the writer of this

Manuscript were in all probalility one. See the Epitaph in this Appendix below.

I add from the Pulman MSS., C. C. C. Oxon. 307. B. 2. 13, folios 59 to 60 the following, which determines on the authority of "near relations" that stabbed on the 1st of September, Lord Brooke lingered on to the 30th of September: "He was wounded the first of September, as I have heard from his neer relations, and dyed the last of that month, MCDXXVIII. His body, embalmed and wrapt in lead was carried to Warwick, and there solemnly interred in a vault on the north side of St. Marie's, in a faire roome, formerly the Chapter house, where he had erected a stately monument."

B: EPITAPH-LINES UPON THE DEATH OF FULKE GREVILLE, LORD BROOKE.

READER, I'll be sworn upon a book,
Here lies Right ugly the Lord Brook,
Who, as I have a soul to save,
Did not deserve to have a grave!
For, would I might neuer go further,
He was accused of a horrible murther,
Because 'twas thought he began
To kill one Ralph Howard his man,
Which for my part, by God's lid,
I believe he never did.
Ill-natured he was, else let me never wag;
For he was never known to lend his friend a nag;

And, would I might never stir more,
But for spending he would have lain with a whore;
And 'twould make a man very sick
To think how ill he rewarded his music.
So costive he was, and wary in thrift,
He would not help his friend at a dead lift;
Nay, there be huge company think
He wrote down few legacies for saving of ink.
He called his executor ragamuffin
For being [so] expensive to buy a new coffin:
For I pray, quoth he, to what intent?
Should the worms be well housed that never pay rent?
And by this light, same light that shines,
He thought it simple to pay tithes to divines;
And when he was to depart, he disputed at large
Whether his soul might travel without charge:
And just as his soul was about to be gone,
'Cause corn was dear, he ate brown bread at the Communion.
To save faggots in winter, by Dragon and Bell,
Most are of opinion he went to Hell.
Well would I might never stir out of this room,
He'll be very melancholy at the day of doom.

I take this from Mr. Huth's Inedited Poeticall Miscellanies [1870] "for private circulation": and I regret that the Editor [Mr. Hazlitt] in his brief biographical notice of our Worthy has not denounced the libeller of a great name. Alas! that other "Miscellanies" might easily furnish kindred on our supremest and holiest names!

The Works of Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke.

Poetry.

VOL. I.

Note.

The Poems of Monarchy form a consecutive series, and are the most extensive of Lord Brooke's writings. They seem therefore to claim a place of honour in Vol Ist. The following is the title-page of the volume whence these Poems are derived:

"THE
REMAINS
OF
Sir *FULK GREVILL*
Lord Brooke:
BEING
POEMS
OF
MONARCHY
AND
RELIGION:

Never before Printed.

LONDON,

Printed by *T. N.* for *Henry Herringman* at the sign of the *Blew Anchor* in the *Lower Walk* of the *New Exchange*. 1670." [12mo.]

Prefixed to the title-page is the single word 'IMPRIMATUR,' signed 'W. Morice.' The collation is—Imprimatur—title-page—an advertisement (given in its own place) 4 leaves: Poems pp. 1—205. G.

An Advertisement.

THE Author having dedicated all his monuments to the memory of Sir Philip Sidney—whose Life he did write as an intended Preface to these:—it will not be fit to add any other then a brief Advertisement to acquaint the Reader, he was that Sir Fulk Grevill whose noble line by matches with the honourable families of Nevil, Beauchamp, and Willoughby Lord Brooke make good the observation of hereditary advantages, of mind as well as body, by descents purely derived from noble ancestors; the excellency of his qualities rendring him an eminent courtier in Queen Elizabeth's raign, and in King James's time, under whom he had the honourable emploiments of Chancellour of the Exchequer and Privy Counceller, and was by Letters-Patent of that King, in consideration of services done to the crown, made Lord Brooke; to the title of which Barony by descent from Willoughby he had right: and having always

lived a batchelor—which was no small advantage to the freedom of his mind—he died in the seventy-fourth year of his age, ANN. DOM. 1628, having been also Counsellor of State for about three years to King Charles the First.

When he grew old, he revised the Poems and Treatises he had writ long before, and at his death committed them to his friend Mr. Michael Malet, an aged gentleman in whom he most confided, who intended what the Author purposed, to have had them printed altogether; but by copies of some parts of them which happened in other hands, some of them came first abroad, each of his Works having had their fate, as they singly merit particular esteem; so to come into the World at several times: he to whom they were first delivered being dead, the trust of these remaining pieces devolved on Sir J. M., who hath given me the Licensed Coppy of them: and that the Reader may be more fully informed of the Author and his Writings, and how they are related to each other, we must refer to that wherein, besides his friend Sidney's Life, he gives account of his own and what he had written.

H[ENRY] H[ERRINGMAN].[1]

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1 See title-page. G.

A Treatise of Monarchy.

OF THE BEGINNING OF MONARCHIE.

SECT. I.

1.

THERE was a time before the times of Story
When Nature raign'd instead of Laws or Arts,
And mortal gods, with men made up the glory
Of one Republick by united hearts.
Earth was the common seat, their conversation[1]
In saving love, and our's in adoration.

2.

For in those golden days, with Nature's chains
Both King and People seem'd conjoyn'd in one;
Both nurst alike, with mutual feeding veins,
Transcendency of either side unknown;

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1 Manner of life or 'walk': see Mr. W. A Wright's Bible Word-Book, as before. G.

Princes with men using no other arts
But by good dealing to obtain good hearts.

3.

Power then maintaind it self even by those arts
By which it grew: as Justice, Labor, Love;
Reservèd sweetness did it self impart
Even unto slaves, yet kept it self above,
And by a meek descending to the least,
Enviless swayd and govern'd all the rest.

4.

Order there equal was; Time courts ordain'd
To hear, to judge, to execute, and make
Few and good rules, for all griefs that complain'd:
Such care did princes of their people take
Before this art of Power allay'd[1] the Truth:
So glorious of Man's greatness is the youth.

5.

What wonder was it then if those thrones found
Thanks as exorbitant, as was their merit?
Wit to give highest tributes being bound,
And wound up by a princely ruling spirit
To worship them for their gods after death
Who in their life exceeded humane faith?

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[1] Alloyed = debased. G.

6.

And shall it error, nay impiety
In heathen souls be thought to recompence
The absent with immortal memory,
Goodness with praise, and benefit with sence?
Or rather such a golden natur'd vein
As in the World might golden days maintain.

7.

For where should thankful ingenuity[1]
Think the fear-thundring scepter fit to rest,
With Knowledge, Vertue, and Felicity,
But in mild Jupiter's well-doing brest?
Or where but in Olympus, heaven to be?
Which was his dwelling place in Thessaly.

8.

And if departed souls must rise again
Severely to become examinèd,
And bide the judgement of reward or pain:
What chancelors seem fitter for the dead,
Then Rhadamanthus and stern Minos were?
True types of Justice while they livèd here:

9.

Thus Kings may see, while greatness did descend,

[1] Ingenuousness. G.

And care as far spread as authority,
Grace did restrain and disgrace did amend,
The vice was hateful and the majesty
Of Justice held up for a common good:
A work by Kings and men well understood.

10.

Kings creatures[1] then were no vain favorites
But guardians of the poor, eyes of the Crown;
Lest height of place should oversee the right
And help the proud to pull the humble down;
All laws like cobwebs, catching little flies
But never great ones without Princes' eyes.

11.

Under Eurystus,[1] that brave prince of Greece,
No Pallas, no Narcissus delicate
Were minions: whose lusts did the people fleece,
Nor could sufficèd be with Midas' state;
And whose effeminate unactiveness
To make themselves great, still made sceptors less.

---

[1] =Nobles i.e. titularly created by the monarch. So Shakespeare in Pericles (iii. 2) "hundreds call themselves your creatures": and elsewhere, as in I Henry IV: v. 5: All's Well that ends Well, iv. 1. G.

[2] Eurystheus, the prescriber of the twelve labors of Hercules. G.

12.

But Hercules a brave laborious spirit,
Who having freed Greece from home-tyranny
As born of more then his own soyl to merit,
Was sent to purge the Earth's iniquity:
Egypt of Busyre, Diomedes of Thrace,
Italy of Cacus,[1] Spain of Gerion's Race:

13.

Nor could a goddess' spite—which Juno veils
Under employment's specious pretences:—
Change Nature, or make true worth strike her sails,
One god appeasing other gods offences,
When she that by his labour sought his doom
There made him trophies, where she meant his tomb.

14.

Yet did he raise no pyramis[2] for pain
But his Republick's good, his master's fame;
As thinking selfness[3] but a trivial gain

---

[1] Misprinted 'Caius': all these names are familiar. G.

[2] Pyramid: see our Phineas Fletcher for examples: iv., 419. G.

[3] A noticeable word recently revived in philosophy. So st. 19th and 131st. G.

To him that builds an universal frame;
No trophies fit for worth, but love and praise,
Which shadow-like still follow active rays.

15.

Jason[1] again—who serv'd Thessalia's king—
What else did he affect[2] from dangers past,
When he the fleece of Colchos[3] home did bring,
Then in the rolls of large time to be plac't,
For undertaking passages unknown,
Through which the wealth of many States have grown?

16.

Now whilst Pow'r did thus really proceed
Not on advantage, humour, slight[4] or will,
Her zeal with honour mixt peaz'd[5] every deed;
Time did not yet encline to mask her ill;
Words grew in hearts, men's hearts were large and free,
Bondage had then not brought in flattery.

---

[1] 'Jason' has entered on a new lease of immortality in the imperishable poem so-named of William Morris. G.

[2] Aim at. G.

[3] Colchis. G.

[4] Sleight. G.

[5] Poised = weighed. G.

17.

But by decree of Fate this corporation
Is alter'd since, and Earth's fair globe miscarrièd,
Man's craft, above these gods in estimation,
And by it Wisdome's constant standard varièd;
Whereby the sway of many years are gone
Since any godhead rul'd an earthly throne.

18.

Whether it were man's false pygmean[1] wit
Captiving Envy, or the giant's pride,
Which forc't these Worthies to abandon it
I know not; but some disproportion'd tyde
Of Time's self-humours hath that commerce drownd
To which this image shews those times were bound.

19.

And when those golden days were once expired
Time straight claim'd her succession in the brass,
And to her ends new instruments inspired,
With narrow selfness staining all that was:

[1] The allusion is to the war of the 'Giants and pygmies.' G.

Power still affects more inequality,
Which made mankind more curious to be free.

20.

Divided thus, kings quit their Father's hand
In government, which men did earst adore;
People again by number sought to stand,
And scorn'd that power which earst they did implore;
Goodness goes from the Earth, and greatness too,
In will, fear, craft, men forming all they do.

21.

Hence these gods tir'd with neighbourless deceit
Have rais'd their thrones above mortality
And chang'd their sweet aspects with sour retreat.
Whence all things blest before now blasted be
With tempests, earthquakes, fire, and thunder's terrors
Shewing and threatening man's corrupting errors.

22.

By which strange plagues these gods do testify
Mankind to be of such a metal cast,
As neither fire can melt, air qualify,

Water dissolve, or stroke of hammer waste :
No native motion, law or violence,
Fashion his hard heart to an humble sence.

23.

But that he should still grudge at Government,
Scorn mercy, yet rebel at tyranny,
Repine at discipline, rest discontent
Both with his equals and authority ;
As in whom pow'r might without goodness be,
And bare subjection without loyalty.

24.

In which confusèd state of declination[1]
Left by these gods, mankind was forc't to trust
Those light thoughts which were molds of his
privation
And scorning equals, raise a soveraign[2] must ;
For Frailty with it self grown discontent,
Wardlike must live in others' government.

25.

Man then repine not at the boundless Kings,
Since you endure the fate of your fore-fathers,

---

[1] Decline. G.

[2] Misprinted 'soveiaga'. G.

To whom God did foretell, on humane wings
How Inequality once rais'd still gathers ;
Their choice offended Him,[1] please you it must
Whose dregs still in you, on you, make it just.

26.

Princes again, o'er-rack not your creation,
Lest pow'r return to that whence it began,
But keep up scepters by that reputation
Which raisèd one to rule this world of man ;
Order makes us the body, you the head,
And by disorder Anarchy is bred.

27.

Let each then know by equal estimation,
That in his frail freehold of flesh and blood,
Nature her self declines unto privation,
As mixt of real ill and seeming good ;
And where man's best estate is such a strife,
Can Order there be permanent in life ?

28.

Now, if considered simply, man be such,

---

[1] See 1 Samuel viii., 4—9. G.

Cast him into a throne or subject's mould,
The function cannot take away this touch ;
Since neither what he ought, or can, or would,
Both king and man perplexèd are in state,
Improve their ends, and set no other rate.

29.

In which imperfect temper, expectation
Proves unto each a perverse enemy ;
Whilst Pow'r with soveraign partial contemplation
Aims at ideas of authority
More absolute then God Himself requires,
Who of us, onely what He gives, desires.

30.

Again, while People do expect from kings
Such a protecting popularity
As gives, forgives, intends no other things
But in a crown a common slave to be ;
Thus over-valuing each estate too farre
Makes both full of misprision[1] as they are.

31.

In judging other then, let either know

[1] Contempt=treason. G.

As they are men, they are a meau[1] creation
Betwixt the Heaven above and Hell below,
No more deserving hate, then adoration:
Equal in some things are the great'st and least;
One disproportion must not drown the rest.

32.

The odds to be examined then is PLACE,
What that doth challenge, what again it owes,
Not peazing these in dainty scales of grace
Where pure simplicity for wisdom goes;
Or vain ideas formèd in the air,
To self-imagination onely fair,

33.

But in the World as thrones now moulded are
By chance, choice, practice, birth, or martial awe,
Where laws and custome doe prescribe how far,
Either the king or subject ought to draw
These mutual ties of duty, love, or fear
To such a strain, as every man may bear.

34.

Which PLACE, what is it but of reverence
A throne rais'd on man's reason and affection?

---

[1] Query—a term in music, as a part between treble and bass? Can scarcely be here=humble, inferior? G.

Where that well happy mixt[1] and confluence
Of earthly and celestial reflection,
Should wear the publick in the private good,
And to protect both, govern flesh and blood.

35.

Yet, since election doth resign to birth,
True worth to chance, brave industry to blood,
Nature to art; and force command the Earth,
That native commerce[2] which wrought mutual good
'Twixt crowns and men, was soon exil'd from hence,
And we like beasts left no right but in sence.

36.

To fortify which confident rais'd throne
And keep mankind with it in unity,
The wit of Pow'r cannot suffice alone;
Man is not strong to bind humanity,
Therefore above man, they that would man bound
Still sought some shews of everlasting ground.

---

[1] = mixture. G. [2] Intercourse. G

37.

Hence was Pow'rs zenith raisèd up, and fixt
Upon the base of superstitious rights,
Whose visions with the Truth and Error mixt
Make humane wisdomes yet seem infinite,
By giving vain opinion—born of sence—
Falsly the sacred stile of conscience.

38.

For as by optick repercussions here
The light with shadows mixt, makes sence mistake,
Whereby the less oft greater doth appear,
Creating Castor god for Pollux sake;
And as the rainbow but a shadow being,
By shadows forms another to our seeing.

39.

So from the mirror of these visions move[1]
Second reflexions which doe represent
Forms of the ill below and good above,
As humane laws, fame, honour, government;
All shewing man—though in unperfect light—
That thrones may seem, but are not infinite.

---

[1] Misprinted 'more' and left uncorrected by Southey. G.

40.

Now if from these dumb shadows there break out
Light to shew thrones are not indefinite;
In true Religion's cleer beams who can doubt
But that Pow'r bounded is with wrong and right,
The Infinite in Wisdom drawing down
The will of tyrants to the laws of crown.

41.

Wherein that other superstitious sphere
Chance, and Opinion's nimble idols raign,
Racking up tributes out of Hope and Fear,
By which weak mankind lose, strong scepters gain;
As where no limits be to Pow'r or will,
Nor true distinction between good and ill.

42.

So then when man beholds this boundless sea
Of Will, and no shoar left to shew her streams,
He straight beleeves thoughts may sail every way
Till Powr's contrary winds disperse these dreams;
And make men see their freedom bound so fast,
As it of no forbidden fruit dare taste.

43.

Yet happily had man not thus been bounded

With humane wrests,[1] as well as moulds divine,
He in his passions must have been confounded,
Desire in him is such an endless mine.
Eve would have Adam been, man kings, kings more,
Till such destruction fall as fell before.

44.

Therefore if Pow'r within these scepter lines
Could keep, and give as it would be repaid,
These mutual fed, and mutual feeding mines
Would still enrich, could hardly be decayd;
For Chance gives mutual confidence a bliss,
And God helps those frames, which shew likest His.

45.

Besides this Activeness it self maintains,
And rather then live idle, can do ill;
Those images it raiseth in our brains
Having alliance not with Truth, but will,
And to confirm this, strives to pull all down
That limit the excesses of a crown.

---

[1] A 'wrest' was an instrument for tuning a harp. Hence an instrument or contrivance generally. Cf. Shakespeare:

"Such a *wrest* in their affairs"

(Troilus and Cressida: iii. 3. 23.) G.

Declination of Monarchy.

TO VIOLENCE.

SECT. II.

46.

NOW though the World on the excentricks be
Fashion'd to move, and ballance her own weight,
Not much enclining to obliquity,
Yet is her ruler MAN—through self-conceit,
Violence of pride, fate of corruption—
Apt to give all her best works interruption.

47.

For since Religion's name, not Nature, came
To rule, those ancient forming pow'rs gave place,
The stile of conscience over-weighing fame,
And reason yielding up her soveraign mace
Unto those lively pictures which produce
Unactive apparitions[2] of no use.

---

[1] Decline, as before. G. [2] Appearances. G.

48.

Which change[1] straight wrought, but was not straightways found,
Pow'r was so veil'd with formal laws and baits
Under which still the infinite lay bound
And man bewitcht with wits confusèd sleights,
To make Pow'rs throne the idol of his heart
Transforming zeal and nature into Art.

49.

So that without the guide of cloud or fire,[2]
Man since sails fatal straights of Hope and Fear,
In ebbs and flouds of travelling desires,
Where what we have to us is never dear:
Pow'r making men vainly, by off'ring more,
Hope to redeem that state they had before.

50.

Hence falls it out that silly people loose[3]
Still by these thin webs of Authority;
Which they that spin, yet therefore cannot use,
Because these threds no more inherent be

---

[1] Southey misprints 'chargc.' G.

[2] The pillar-cloud of Israel: Exodus xiv. 19. G.

[3] Lose: 'Loose' the contemporary spelling. G.

Within themselves, but so transcrib'd to crowns
As they raise Pow'r by pulling Freedom down.

51.

Thus by a credulous obedience,
Mankind gave Might a ground to build up more,
Cooling and kindling his desire with sence,
Even of such things as were his own before,
Disease and Error meeting both in this
That many follow where one rooted is.

52.

For thus imbas'd, we since want pow'r to tie
Others to us, or us unto our own ;
Our many passions serve to bind us by,
And our distractions keep our strengths unknown,
One holding that which others give away;
The base, whereon all Tyranny doth stay.

53.

Hence came these false monarchal Councils in,
And instruments of tyrants States apart,
Which to their private from the publick win,
While man becomes the matter, Pow'r the art;
Making obedience too indefinite
As taxt with all the vanities of Might.

54.

The tenure chang'd, Nature straight chang'd the use
For all the active spirits follow Might;
Ignorance baseness; Negligence abuse;
Inconstancy disunion, oversight;
By crowns to people so intail'd are they
As no subjection can put these away.

55.

Whence neither makers now, nor members held
Men are, but blanks, where Pow'r doth write her lust
A spriteless mass, which—for it cannot weld
It self—at others' pleasure languish must,
Resolve to suffer, and let Pow'r do all:
Weakness in men, in children natural.

56.

From which cras'd womb of Frailty was brought forth,
A giant creature in excess of Might,
To work in all with every pow'r but Worth,
Who to be sure, that never shall have right,
Takes not God as He is, but makes Him new
Like to his ends, large, narrow, false, or true.

57.

Religion, honour, Nature's laws and nations
All moulds derivèd from that great gift transcendent,
These monsters stampt, or gave disestimation
As they did find them their's or undependent;[1]
Left nothing certain here on Earth but will,
And that yet never constant, for tis ill.

58.

Instance proud Mahomet when he propos'd
The empire of this world to his ambition:
Under God's name were not his acts dispos'd
To change man's faith and freedom of condition?
The sacred dove whisp'ring into his ear
That what his will impos'd, the World must fear.

59.

Unto Cambyses all his sages vow'd
That in their reading they of no law wist
Which marriage with his sister had allow'd,
But that their monarch might do what he list;

---

[1] Transition-form of 'independent.' G.

Licet si libet, and what be these other
Then hellish words of Caracalla's mother.

60.

And doth not our great capitolian lord[1]
Use the same compass in each course he steers?
Are not those acts which all estates discord;
As kings assasinate, mutiny of peers
Stirr'd up by him under pretence divine,
To force those scepters he cannot encline?

61.

Nay, hath he not a higher pitch attain'd,
A more compendious power of perswasion?
Having, since Phœbus and Cybele raign'd,
Made himself such a trypode[2] by occasion,
As may not be examin'd or withstood,
But with a Godhead equally made good.

62.

Which errors—like the hectick feavers—be
Easie to cure, while they are hard to know;
But when they once obtain supremacy,
Then easily seen, but hard to overthrow:

---

[1] The Pope. G. [2] = oracle. G.

So that where Pow'r prevents not this excess,
Miters grow great, by making scepters less.

63.

Therefore did these proud Tyrants live awake,
Careful to cancel all inferior rights,
And in creations still keep pow'r to make,
To fit each instrument[1] and fashion spirits;
That as the head ideas rule the heart,
So Pow'r might print her will in every part,

64.

For active rulers seldom fail of means,
Occasion, colour, and advantage too,
To bind by force, by wit, by Custome's chains,
And make th' oppressèd souls content to woe:[2]
Fear suffering much, for fear to suffer more,
As still by smart made greater then before.

65.

Knowing that men alike touch't never were,
That divers sence works diversly in woe,

---

[1] Misprinted 'instruments': and stanza 60 misnumbered 90. G.

[2] = woo. G.

The nimblest wits being still kept down by fear;
Dull wits not feeling neighbors' overthrow;
The wise mistrust the weak, and strive to bear;
Thrones being strong, because men think them so:
Yet mark at length how Error runs in rounds,
And ever what it raiseth up confounds.

66.

For when this Pow'r transcendent, grows secure
Flattering it self that all is made for one,
Then Will, which nothing but itself endures
And Pow'r that thinks it stands and works alone,
With an unsatiate pride and wanton ease
Surfets itself with other men's disease.

67.

Hence laws grow tedious,[1] and the very names
Of God and Truth, whose natures died before,
A heavy burthen to these racking frames
That with a word would wrest up all and more;
Assemblies of estates disparagements be,
Tax, Custome, Fear, and Labor onely free.

68.

Hence thrones grew idols, man their sacrifice,

[1] Irksome, from the restraint they impose. G.

And as from the Earth, to the sun above[1]
Tributes of dew and exhalations rise;
So humane nature yields up all but Love:
Having this strange transcendency of Might,
As child of no mean vice, but infinite.

69.

Whereby these strengths which did before concurre
To build, invent, examine, and conclude,
Now turn disease; bring question and demur;
Oppose, dissolve, prevaricate, delude,
And with opinions give the State unwrest,[2]
To make the new still undermine the best.

70.

Cæsar was slain by those that objects were
Of grace, and engines of his Tyranny:
Brutus' and Cassius' work shall witness bear,
Even to the comfort of posterity,
That proud aspirers never had good end;
Nor yet excess of Might a constant friend.

---

[1] 'As' misplaced after 'Earth'. G.

[2] A misspelling for 'unrest.' But Cf. st. 43rd, line 2nd. G.

71.

So that although this tyrant Usurpation
Stood peaz'd[1] by humours from a present fall;
Thoughts being all forc't up to adoration
Of wit and pow'r—which such thrones work
withal—
Yet both the head and members finite are
And must still by their miscreating marre.

72.

The nature of all over-acting Might,
Being to stirre offence in each estate,
And from the deep impressions of despight
Enflame those restless instruments of Fate,
Which as no friends of Duty or Devotion
Easily stirre up incursion or commotion.

73.

Occasion for a forreign enemy,
Or such competitors as do pretend
By any stile or popularity,
Faction or sect; all whose endeavors tend

---

[1] Poised, as before. G.

To shake the Realm, or by assasinate,[1]
Into the people to let fall the State.

74.

In which excess of tyrants' violence
If Nero lack a foreign enemy
Nero from Vindex shall receive offence;
Safe from his guard Caligula shall not be;
Or if these tyrants find no worse then they,
Otho shall help to make himself away.

75.

But grant the World slept in her misery,
Yet greedy Time, that good and ill devours,
To cross this head-long course of Tyranny,
Takes from the throne these ancient daring powr's
And by succession of man's discontent,
Carries mischance upon misgovernment.

---

[1] Assassination: the needed rhyme perhaps explains the somewhat odd form. But Halliwell (Arch. & Prov. Dict. *s. v.*) quotes Daniel (Civil Wars iii. 78)

———"What hast thou done
To make this barbarous *assassinate*
Upon the person of a prince?"

Cf. st. 60, line 4th. G.

76.

Wherein observe the wit of former days,
Which feign'd their gods themselves—oft to prevent
Pow'rs inclination to oppressing ways—
Came down and gave offences punishment;
Lest man should think—above mortality—
Against injustice there were no decree.

77.

For proof, when with Lycaon's tyranny
Men durst not deal, then did Jove to reform
Descend, and savage natur'd cruelty
Fitly into the greedy wolf transform;
So was that tyrant Tereus' nasty lust
Chang'd into Upupa's foul feeding dust.[2]

78.

Hence was Megæra and her sisters tied
By God to attend the crys of men's oppressions;
Whether Orestes were for parricide
To be distracted with her own impressions;
Or Pentheus for his proud blaspheming scorn
In many pieces by his mother torn.[1]

---

[1] See Giles Fletcher's 'Pentheus' (our edn. p 186): G.

[2] The bird 'hoopop': (Ovid, vi. 424—475.) G.

79.

Thus as we see these guides of humane kind
Chang'd from gods and fathers to oppressors;
So we see Tyrannie's excess of mind
Against her own estate become transgressor;
And either by her subjects' craft betraid
Slain by themselves, or by God's judgement swayd.

Of Weak Minded Tyrants.

SECT. III.

80.

OLYMPUS kept her scepter without stain,
Till she let fall Pow'rs tender reputation,
By gracing Venus and her son to raign,
Who with the first gods had no estimation ;
For when these faint thoughts came to rule above
Pow'r lost at once both majesty and love.

81.

A work of Saturn, who with narrow spite
Mow'd down the fat, and let the lean ears spring,
That after his sithe nothing prosper might ;
Time that begets and blasteth every thing,
To barley making wheat degenerate,
As eagles did into the kites' estate.

82.

But let us grant excess of Tyranny
Could scape the heavy hand of God and man ;
Yet by the natural variety

Of frailties, raigning since the world began ;
Faint relaxations doubtless will ensue,
And change force into craft, old times to new.

83.

Worth must decay, and the height of Pow'r decline,
Vices shall still, but not the same vice, raign ;
Error in mankind is an endless mine,
And to the worst, things ever did constrain :
Unbound it would live, and delight by change
To make those formes still welcome that be strange.

84.

Hence like a ball, how hath this world been tost
From hand to hand, betwixt the Persians, Medes,
Romans and Greeks, each name in other lost ?
And while Rome's pride her government misleads
To scorn the Asian, Grecian arms and worth,
Made slave she was to those lords she brought forth.

85.

What marvel is it then to see the Earth
Thus chang'd from order into anarchy ?
When these ideas of refinèd birth
Were thus transform'd from Reason's monarchy

Into that false oligarchy of passion,
Where princes must bear every bodie's fashion?

86.

And whereby man may really conclude,
That in it self Time onely doth not change,
Nature affecting like vicissitude;
Whence to see Vice succeed Worth is not strange,
Weakness and strength, aswell as youth and age
Having in each estate a various stage.

87.

So that out of this phœnix fire there bred
Birds that do wear no feathers of their own,
But borrow'd plumes, which imping[1] ever need,
And such as are by divers colours known,
Nor of or for themselves to move or be
But under them that guide their infancy,

88.

Which changling weakness made to serve, not raign,
Possessing all without a doing lust;

[1] Imp=a feather inserted in a wing, as a graft into a tree. Cf. our Glossarial-Index *s.v.* to Phineas Fletcher (Vol. iv.) G.

To add more scorn to her fore-runner's stain
Dare neither cherish ill, nor goodness trust;
But slacks those engines which are wound before,
And so gives people back their own again and more.

89.

Then, man, mark by this change, what thou hast won
Thou leav'st a torrid for a frozen zone;
And art by Vice-vicissitudes undone,
Whose state is ever fatal to her own;
The active tyrant scarce allowing breath,
While this unactive, threatens lingring death.

90.

For where to Power absolute, such spirits
Are raisèd up, as unacquainted be
How to create, to censure[1] faults or merits,
Where to be bound, to bind or to be free,
Amidst the ocean of man's discontent,
They want both map and scale of Government.

---

[1] Judge, pronounce upon. G.

91.

Since where the poyze,[1] betwixt heart, wit and right
Unequal is, and wit predominant,
Opinion's shadows must seem infinite
To passive circles large, the active scant,
All cleer zones dimly overcast with fear,
And to those false mists mankind forc't to swear.

92.

Whence from inferiors, visions fitted be,
Deceiving Frailty with her own desire;
Ease is made greatness, trust a liberty,
A point of craft for Power to retire,
To work by others held a soveraign state,
Resting as God, Who yet distributes fate.

93.

Under which clouds, while Pow'r would shadow sloth
And make the crown a specious hive for drones,
Unactiveness finds scorn, and ruine both:
Vice and misfortune seldom go alone,
Pow'r loosing itself by distast of pain,
Since they that labor will be sure to raign.

---

[1] Poise: as before. G.

94.

For though like Æolus from the hills of Might,
Thrones can let winds out to move Earth and sea,
Yet neither can they calm or guide them right
From blasting of that mountain where they lay,
Because these spirits joyn, part, war, agree
To rob weak minds of strong authority,

95.

Thus did old Galba raign in pupillage
Under the tutorship of two or three
Who rob'd, built, spoil'd upon the publick stage,
Cloth'd with the vail of his authority:
Thus Claudius in his empire liv'd a thrall,
Scorn'd by those slaves rais'd by him to do all.

96.

Besides what feavers then must raign, when these
Base idle fantosmes,[1] creatures of grace,
Impossible to temper, hard to please,
Shall have the pow'r to raise up or deface?
Since mean born natures, artless[2] fortune great,[3]
Hate them that merit, scorn them that intreat.

---

[1] phantasms. G. [2] Unskilful. G.
[3] = greet. G.

97.

While blasting humours wound both men and things,
Down go the Schools, the pulpit and the barr;
States fall where Power flies with feeble wings,
To make a man, such kings of't kingdoms marr;
Nothing and all alike are currant there,
Order springs up and dies, Change no shape bears.

98.

Hence come contempt of laws, and bullions fall,
Riddles of State which get by doing harm;
Statutes for words, bondage unnatural,
Offices, customes, cittadels in farme,
Engaging crowns, making Pow'rs name a stile
To ruine worth, which it cannot beguile.

99.

Yet mark how Vice—that it self only friends—
In her own web, still weaves her own disease,[1]
By disproportion compassing her ends,
And disproportion ruining her ways;

---

[1] = dis-ease. See stanza 66 and our Phineas Fletcher. Glossarial-Index *s. v.* G.

For those that rose by providence, care, pain,
And over Pow'r, which wanted these, did raign,

100.

Grow fondly scornful, idle, imperious,
Despising form, and turning law to will,
Abridge our freedom to lord over us,
Loosing the fruit of humors with the skill ;
Till by degrees insensibly they fall
By leaving those arts which they rose withal.

101.

When instantly those undertaking pow'rs
Care, hazard, wit, misplacèd industry,
—Which helpt to build their oligarchal tow'rs—
Fly from these downfals of prosperity ;
As spirits that to govern were created,
And cannot lower properly be rated.

102.

The pride of such inferiors did constrain
The Swiss against the Austrian's cantonise ;[1]

---

[1] =to form themselves into *cantons* as the Belgians into a Republic. See Life of Sydney also, and our Glossarial-Index. G.

So were the Belgians likewise forc't again
A new republick finely to devise.
In which that monarch[1] was compel'd to treat
As with States equal free, not equal great.

103.

For vices soon to heights and periods rise,
Have both their childhood, state and declination,[2]
Are sometimes currant, but at no time wise;
Like blazing stars that blaze their own foundation,
Or shadows which the shew of bodies have
And in self-darkness both a life and grave.

104.

Whence it proceeds that all the works of Error
Live not in state of health, but sick and cured,
Change carrying out excess, to bring in terror,
Never securing, nor to be secured;
But physick-like in new diseases bred,
Either subtracts or adds till all be dead.

105.

Thus rose all States, thus grew they, thus they fall

---

[1] Duke of Alva. B. [B.=the Author's own notes, throughout. G.

[2] Decline, as before. G.

From good to ill, and so from ill to worse ;
Time from her due vicissitudes doth call,
Error still carrying in it self her curse ;
Yet let this light out of these clouds break forth,
That Pow'r hath no long being but in worth.

Cautions against these weak extremities.

SECT. IV.

106.

NOW to prevent or stay these declinations[1]
And desperate diseases of Estate,
As hard is as to change the inclinations
Of humane nature in her love or hate;
Which whosoever can make straight or true
As well is able to create her new.

107.

Here falls it out that as the wise physitian,
When he discovers death in the disease,
Reveals his patient's dangerous condition;
And straight abandons what he cannot ease
Unto the ghostly physick of a Might,
Above all second causes, infinite.

108.

So many grave and great men of estate
In these despairèd times retire away,
And leave the stern of government to Fate,

[1] Decline, as before. G.

Foreseeing her remediless decay;
Loath in confusèd torrents of oppression
To perish as if guilty of transgression.

109.

Who then can wary Seneca reprove?
After he had observ'd his pupil's rage,
The brother poison'd—strange bewitching love—
The mother slain, of vice his patronage;
If he from bloody Nero did remove,
And as the pilots do in tempests groan,
To Fate give over art, and all their own.

110.

But grant such spirits were to be excus'd,
As by oppression or necessity
Disgracèd live, restrainèd, or not us'd,
As part themselves of publick misery,
Yet who are free must labor and desire
To carry water to this common fire.

111.

Have not some by equality of mind,
Even in the crossest course of evil times,
With passive goodness won against the wind?
So Priscus pass'd Domitian's torrid climes,
And scap't from danger to the full of days,
Helping frail Rome with un-offending ways.

112.

Was it true valour or timidity
That made stern Cato so impatient
Of his own life and Cæsar's victory?
Vanity it was—like smoak not permanent—
That wrought this weak work of strong destiny,
Where while he lost his life and Rome a friend
He lost that glory which he made his end.

113.

For since the most estates at first were founded
Upon the waving basis of confusion;
On what but fear can his discourse be grounded
That in distress despairs of good conclusion?
With mysteries of which vicissitude
Fate oftentimes doth humane wit delude.

114.

Again, who mark Time's revolutions, find
The constant health of crowns doth not remain
In pow'r of man, but of the Pow'rs divine,
Who fixe, change, ruine, or build up again
According to the period, wain or state,
Of good or evils, seldom changing fate.

115.

First then let Tyrants—as they do encline
By nature, either way unto excess—
Conceive, though true perfection be divine
And nowhere ever brought to pass with less :
Yet in the world, which they would govern well,
Cures and diseases both together dwell,

116.

And though to live by rule proud man be loath,
Yet rules to kings and subjects are such stays
As crutches be to feeble Age's sloth,
Or as the main turmoilèd mother seas[1]
Do find those banks which then confine her course,
When rage blown up, would els make all things worse.

117.

Let no man then expect a constant air
Between the sence of men and senseless Might,
Where one man makes skies foul, another fair,

---

[1] Main seas=the main Ocean. Cf. Shakespeare's "*main* flood": (Merchant of Venice iv. 1) "the *main* waters". (v.l.) Hence main for ocean, waters being implied. G.

In passive orbs who looks for other right,
Child-like must break all toys for loss of one,
And by their fall add honour to a throne.

118.

Rather let people, as in airs infected,
Not seek to master, but avoid disease,
By absence now, by homage now protected ;
Not looking high for stumbling in their ways,
Lest, as of old, curst with confused speech
They now find no word currant but, 'beseech.'

119.

Again, let weak kings keep their humour chaste,
Not daring violence ; lest over-built
They help to lay their own foundation waste,
And failing themselves, multiply their guilt ;
Since hearts as strong as their estates must be,
That can enlarge themselves by Tyranny.

120.

For as in weak estates, so in weak minds,
To injure or oppress humanity
Stirs up right, wit, and heart in divers kinds,
To show how easily hazard makes men free ;

Where prospect must appear to these weak
kings
A sign that ruine flies with nimble wings.

121.

This weakness which I mean hath divers kinds,
Some water-like, easie to take impression,
And like it leave not any print behind,
Which I omit as fit for no profession:
The other wax-like, take, and keep a mind,
And may in strengths they have, not of their
own,
Be helpt by common duties to a throne.

122.

For as, when birds and beasts would have a king,
To furnish this fair creature for a guide;
Out of their own they gave him every thing,
And by their gifts themselves more surely tyed;
Eyes, voyces, wings, and of their nature's skill,
To govern, raise, and ruine them at will.

123.

So may these frail unactive kind of spirits
Be with the milk of many nurses fed,
All striving to hold up the scepter's rights

With subjects strengths by crowns authorisèd,
Whereby the feeble may again be wombed,
And there get life even where it was intombed.

124.

Which outward help of others' providence
Watcheth occasion, poizeth each intent,
Nor is crown-wisdom any quintescence
Of abstract truth or art of Government,
More then sweet sympathy or counterpeaze[1]
Of humours temper'd happily to please.

125.

But their best help indeed is happy choice
Of under-ministers of every kind,
By whom discreetly thrones may judge the voice
Of images projected to their mind:
And so by weak but wakeful jealousie,
The true or false scope of propounders see.

126.

Whence mark, how that young unexperienc'd spirit
Alexander—who was after nam'd 'severe'—
During his youth did of his people merit,

[1] Counterpoise. G.

By help of council uncorrupt, to bear
The practice of his publick government
Under good laws, which gave good men content.

127.

Now though Pow'r hardly can fit spirits to place,
Which must want judgement wanting industry,
And so as rarely well dispose of grace,
Having but chance, no true nobility;
Yet kinless Fame helps weakness what to judge
Till from an eccho, she becomes a drudge.

128.

For as the painter—curious in his Art—
Extream ill features easily represents,
And by deformity in every part,
Express the life and likeness to content;
As he in Nature's good proportions shews,
That in her pride Art equal with her goes.

129.

So Fame this quintescence of humane spirit,
Brings unto light the divers states of men,
And seldome to Unworthiness gives merit,
Or lets Perfection languish in a den;
But on her wings alike brings either forth;
The one as good, the other nothing worth.

130.

Thus may Fame's many eyes, heads, wings and heart,
Instruct weak Pow'r to keep her state upright;
And as to rule these is a master's art;
So to rule by these is one way of Might,
Wherein the crown can feel no great distress
And for the people, they must sure find less.

131.

Besides the help of Fame weak thrones shall find
The wit of time, and selfness in men's hearts,
Will teach how one man, many men may bind,
And raise the head by counterpoize of parts,
All having charge and subaltern degree,
To ease the audits of Authority.

132.

Where else weak hands in mighty works must fail,
And all transform'd be to Usurper's passion;
Thrones then reserve yourselves, choice and appeal;
Greatness her way must with some labor fashion,
With many eyes he must see wrong and right,
That finite being, would rule infinite.

133.

Or if Pow'rs tender thoughts will needs make
pleasure
The end of crowns, which God made publick good,
Yet give your seconds scope in such a measure,
As may for chiefs still make you understood;
Which one poor priviledge you may reserve,
By thinking more, then[1] one, can well deserve.

134.

For as in bodies living—though decay'd—
If all parts equally chance to be stain'd,
The whole is by an æquilibrium[2] sway'd,
As where no odds can easily be gain'd;
And so mortality adjourn'd as far
Oft as in those, all whose parts sounder are.

135.

So these weak pow'rs—in whom States are diseas'd
By equal disproportion in each part—
May 'scape great fits and happily be eas'd

---

[1] Than. G.

[2] Note 'equilibrium': spelled here 'æquilibrium' and printed in italics as being only in a transition-state. G.

Keeping her tottering ballance up by art:
In making Faction, which destroys the strong,
By peazing weak pow'rs to preserve them long.

136.

What had become of Rome's vast monarchy,
When Galienus buried was in lust,
Sloth, riot, and excess of vanity,
Even while the barbars[1] swarm'd like barren dust;
Had not the thirty rivals to each other
From one man's tyranny preserv'd their mother.

137.

Let Place then rule, let Favor raign, not Merit;
And each in his predicament be king;
Do of a head use neither pow'r nor spirit
To audit, question or judge any thing;
Onely let Faction multiply her seed:
Two bodies headless seldom danger breed.

138.

For equals soon each other will oppose,
And both in thrones as suddenly unite;
To it they pray, they travel,[2] they disclose;

---

[1] Barbarians. G. [2] Travail. G.

Creation only ballanceth their might;
Reserve, distribute that in jealous measure,
That crowns may stand, and kings may take
their pleasure.

139.

These partial wits—which Faction works withal—
Though fatal judges, yet good sisters be,
Which while they strive each other to enthral,
Cleer up the dimme lights of Authority;
And shew weak crowns what weight of hope or
fear
The State, or mind of every man, can bear.

140.

Besides thrones have all moulds of their forefathers,
Safe under-buildings of the wisdoms dead,
Exchequers that revenues judge and gather,
Courts that examine treason to the head;
Parliaments, council-seats, tripods of Law,
Engines of pow'r to keep desire in awe.

141.

For forain practice they have spies of time
And place, to which intelligence is due;
For Church inferior functions and sublime,

To teach men God, and take a spiritual view
Of schisme in doctrine, and in life of sin,
That neither sect, nor scandal enter in.

142.

Onely let not weak pow'rs lay new foundations,
Who cannot judge how Time works on the old;
But keep the ancient forms in reputation
To which man's freedom is already sold;
Since Order over-worn is yet a frame,
Wherein Confusion rarely weavs her name.

143.

Thus much for weakness in that royal part
Which doth concern Justice that is supreme;
Whose golden links—though forg'd by Power's art—
Safe circles are to compass every realm;
And keep out all thoughts of irreverence,
As bearing it in every man's defence.

144.

Where Frailty else, ever unfortunate
Wanting true scales between place, wit, and heart,
Scatters the strength, and honour of a State,
By suffering more to play one tyrant's part;

And blows the people like clouds here and there,
As—till exhausted—objects of their fear.

145.

Lastly, if these mild cautions fail to stay
These frailties, which disease-like turn and toss,
And so for that change everywhere make way,
Which change unguided still begetteth loss ;
Then he who cannot take, must taken be,
Such sharp points hath frail man's supremacy.

Of Strong Tyrants.

SECT. V.

146.

NOW from the setting of this evening star
Ascends that morning planet's influence,
Which both in light and glory passeth far
These comets of strong Pow'r in feeble sence;
And who from inequality of state
Strive to make all, for one, unfortunate:

147.

I mean such confident imperious spirits,
As over-act with restless scepter-wit,
Thinking the world inferior to their merits;
And brook[1] no other bounds or laws in it,
Then[2] to make all their own thoughts, words, and deeds
Receiv'd of people not as rules, but creeds.

148.

Which souls thus over-swoln with windy vice,
Must wisely be allay'd, and moulded be;

---

[1] Submit to, digest. G. [2] Than. G.

Lest torrent-like, they with the prejudice
Of people, wast their own transcendency ;
And thus by cutting real grounds too thin,
Have their ambitions ever to begin.

149.

For though throne-vice be publick, like her state
—And therefore must, of force, wound many ways—
Yet some move scorn, some faults men wonder at,
Others harm not so many as they please ;
Ill chosen vices vanish in despair,
Well chosen still leave something after fair.

150.

Vitellius virtueless in life and raign,
Yet by a glutton's familiarity,
The German armies did so finely gain,
As against Otho he had victory ;
Brake the Prætorian forces ; and in vain
Vespatian had aspir'd his monarchy,
But that each vice fits not all times and States,
For what one age affects[1] another hates.

---

[1] Admires, chooses, as before. G.

151.

Pertinax[2] again, in whom predominant
Few vices were, yet narrowness of heart
Made him the fortune of great armies want,
Where Cæsar mixt with vices, worth, and art,
Had with the people for his death such moan,
As if in him Rome had been overthrown.

152.

In him that first did spoil her treasury
Ravage her provinces and tyrannise,
While as bewitcht with prodigality,
They sell themselves for what in their pow'r lies:
Thus pleasing vices sometimes raise a crown,
As austere vertues often pull it down.

153.

Pow'r therefore must those womanish slight errors,
Which publish to the world self-love or fear,
Carefully shun; as crafty people's mirroirs,
To show what both the king and crown can bear;
And teach mankind on humors to take hold,
That otherwise with thrones durst not be bold.

---

[2] Pertinax Helvius: A. D. 193. G.

154.

From hence the Macedonians did get heart
To dally with that tenderness they found
In their great king, and finely frame an art
To keep the monarch with his own thoughts bound;
For when Hephestion died he did aspire,
Through him to make a god of his desire.

155.

Unto which god some straight did altars build,
Some sacrific'd, others sware by his name,
Some told their dreams, others were vision-fill'd;
All which inspirings from Hephestion's came:
As grace or disgrace did in Nero's days,
To those that did his singing scorn or praise.

156.

Aspirers therefore on corruption founded,
Should use their vice as merchants do their ware;
Not choak the market, lest their vents be bounded,
But martial[1] these things which excesses are,
So as by vice made slaves they may not be,
But rather vice made arts of tyranny.

---

[1] = marshal. G.

157.

For majesty then sinks, when private vice
Is not kept servant to the publick State,
But rather crowns with common prejudice
Subjected basely to their vices' fate;
Because of consequence then Power must
Serve them in all things that observe their lust.

158.

Wise Salomon was taken in this net,
When those strange women which bewitcht his mind,
By it a pow'rful government did get,
To wave his own faith, and seduce mankind;
For which vice if his heirs did loose the throne,
It proves, Disorder never goes alone.

159.

Again, as tyrants are eclips'd by this
So falls the scepter when it bankrupt grows
In common fame, which Nature's trumpet is:
Defect, for ever finding scorn below;
For Reputation airy though it be,
Yet is the beauty of Authority.

160.

Which to improve, strong princes must despise
All arts that blemish birth, place, courage, worth;
For tyrants unto men then sacrifice
Their thrones, when inward errors they shew forth,
Which curiously the wise have ever us'd
To keep conceal'd, well ballanc'd, or excus'd.

161.

Such are extortions, cruelty, oppression,
Covetousness, endless anger, or displeasure,
Neglect, or scorn of person, or profession,
Pride, baseness, rudeness, vain expence of treasure;
All which like number multiplied by place,[1]
Do in the man the monarchy disgrace.

162.

Dissolving due respect and reverence,
Which gentle raines[2] in active princes hands

[1] As not 0001 but 1000, the numeral having its place not after but before the ciphers. George Wither uses the device of describing his celebrated 'Speech without doore' as having been delivered "in the hearing of 0000003 persons then present." (1644). G.

[2] Reins. G.

Give such restraint or latitude to sence,
As with the end of government best stands ;
And who lets fall these pleasing inward ties
Must either fall in state or tyrannise.

163.

Let Rehoboam then in all his ways
Avoid yong council, which enflame the hearts,
And so on ruine Pow'rs foundation lays :
In which light youth hath still the chiefest parts :
Their wit is force, the old man's force is wit :
And then for thrones, let no man judge what's fit.

164.

But above all, such actions as may bring
His faith in doubt, a strong prince must eschew,
Because it doth concern a boundless king
To keep his words, and contracts, steddy, true,
His grants entire, graces not undermin'd ;
As if both Truth and Pow'r had but one mind.

165.

What did it profit that great Charles the Fift
To traffick with the proud simplicity
Of German princes, by unprincely shift,

Misletterd writs? a conclave subtilty!
Since ill fate then and ever did befall
That broken faith aspirers work withal.

166.

The precepts of Lysander to beguile
Children with toys, and men with perfidie,
Records himself by this infamous wile,
To be their tutor in malignity,
Who since conclude that perjury no sin,
Which by equivocation enters in.

167.

A vice so hateful never as when it
Borrows the veil of Justice for deceit;
Hollow Tiberius plays not with his wit,
But to give his false practice better weight;
Hence sacred virgins are to be defil'd
By hangmen first, to have the law beguil'd.

168.

The poets shew what credit with these gods
Truth had, by sacred oath of Stygian Lake;
The heavy dooms, and still tormenting rods,
Which they reserv'd for them that sware and brake;

And freed from pain if these pow'rs could not be,
What shall we think of tyrants' blasphemie?

169.

Did Tantalus, belov'd of Jupiter,
With his own nectar, and ambrosia nurst;
Or Battus[1] painless in perjuring erre?
[Perjury! of all men and gods accurst]?[2]
When Tantalus in hell sees store and starves,
Which senceless Battus for a touchstone serves.

170.

Thus see we how all times, all sorts of faith,
Some by the cloud of fainèd transformation,
Others by humane censure[3] unto death,
And some by heavy doom of discreation,
To keep truth sacred carefully have sought,
Without which no society is ought.

171.

Therefore let Pow'r in her deliberations,
Take time and care before she undertake,

---

[1] Battus, the shepherd of Neleus, who 'perjured' himself to Hermes: (Ovid, *Met.* ii. 688.) G.

[2] A line is left out here, which I have ventured to fill in as *supra*. G.

[3] Judgment. G.

That she an equal princely calculation
Of wealth, strength, titles, fears, and hope may make;
Because if tyrants there poize all things right,
To do, or to forbear, it gives them light.

172.

The pain's no more, or rather not so much,
To shun the sickness as to seek the cure;
And yet in gain and honour far more rich,
It is within her strength to rest secure,
Then peece,[1] veil,[2] yeild, when she hath done amiss;
Since great descent in scepters fatal is.

173.

Pow'r, make your leagues, gifts, contracts therefore just,
Since Wrong prescribes not crowns by time or deed;
Thrones never wanting means, occasion, lust,
To try by hazard how their right shall speed,
In whose uncertain orb yet princes shall
Oft find mischance upon misdoing, fall.

---

[1] = peace *i. e.* make peace. G.

[2] = veil: to lower (one's flag) in token of submission. Cf. our Phineas Fletcher in Glossarial-Index *s. v.* G.

174.

For howsoever to the partial throne
Of mighty Pow'r, the acts of truthless wit
May currant go, like brass, amongst their own;
Yet when the world shall come to judge of it,
Nature that in her wisdom never lies,
Will shew deceit and wrong are never wise.

175.

But grant this honour unto Faithlessness,
That sometimes it may prosper with occasion,
And make true wisdome in appearance less,
Yet what gains Pow'r by loss of reputation?
Since every blossome which ill-doing bears
Blasteth the fruit of good success with fears?

176.

Again, as tyrants ought to soar above
This reach of humours, so ought they to bear
A ruler's hand, and every spirit move,
That under them shall govern hope or fear,
Since by whose wisdomes States are governèd,
They of the same States, are reputed head.

177.

Yet must not this supremacy descend

Of sect or faction to become a part;
Since all is theirs, all must on them depend,
And to make use of each side is their art;
Else like kings forc't for refuge to one town,
They in that one, cast dice for all their crown.

178.

Rather must they by providence unite
All parties so, as none may gage their state,
Or in their private ends withdraw from might,
But give their greatest, such a yielding rate,
As like the Earth plow'd up, they must not groan,
Though greedy Pow'r exhaust more then their own.

179.

For Faction else lurking in hopes and fears,
When it awakes by opportunity,
Straight hydra-like, in many foreheads bears
Horror, division, multiplicity,
Nor safe unto itself, nor to those kings
That unto mean birds will lend eagles wings.

180.

Therefore should this well maskèd cockatrice
Be carefully even in the egg supprest,

Before the venome of her poisoning vice
Against the prince and kingdom be addrest;
It being not safe for strong-witted might
To give Subjection any legal right.

181.

For as we see in deep corrupted airs,
Each petty sickness turns to pestilence,
And by infection common ruine bears:
So, in the orb of kings' omnipotence,
Faction oft makes each private discontent
Swell above law to plague the government.

182.

For to make bodies strong, proves heads are weak,
And so two sects preparèd in one realm,
Which doth the beauty of obedience break,
By tempting discontented minds to glean;[1]

[1] It is hard to see a rhyme in 'glean' with 'realm'. Perhaps 'realm' is a misreading for 'reign' which were a little nearer a rhyme. Or the following from my friend Mr. W. A. Wright, may be better: "*Realm* was pronounced as if 'ream'. For 'glean' I would conjecture 'gleam' = flash out. Halliwell gives 'glean' = sneer, a Derbyshire word, but it could hardly be used here". With reference to 'realm' being pronounced 'ream' I add

And so force thrones to one side for protection
Whose being is to keep both in subjection.

183.

Nor holds our rule alike with weak and strong,
Since weak kings' raigns do very seldom raise
Such spirits, as dare shuffle right and wrong;
At least what breeds them, breeds their counter-
peaze ;[1]
Corruption's weak birth therefore yielding many,
Lest Liberty should be ingrost by any.

184.

Whereas this other princely stirring stuff,
Oft by example gives new laws to kings,
With danger to soveraignity enough
By those new fashions which they give to things:
Therefore are factions here to be suppress;
Which in mild times support weak princes best.

185.

Now how pow'r so should ballance things and
minds,

---

that this reveals a pun of Marlowe in his "Jew of Malta:" "Give me a *ream* of paper, we'll have a *kingdom* of gold for't" (Act iv. sc. 4).) So Dyce. G.

[1] Counterpoise, as before. G.

As all dissentions may in her unite,
Or from what place Pow'r arguments should find,
To make the crooked undergo the right;
How it should pierce the skin of passion,
And yet in these wounds instantly give fashion,

186.

Strong hearts learn out of practick wisdom must,
Which knowing how to pay each with his own,
By mixing good and ill, with fear and lust,
Reap among thorns, seeds by them never sown;
And make the people yield up their estate,
To add more still to government they hate.

187.

Which artificial[1] steerage of affection,
Having but small affinity with good,
No essence, but an essence like reflection
Will best by opposites be understood;
The foul excess of ill being only that
Which to avoid in Pow'r I level at.

188.

Therefore as little bridles to restrain
Man's climing mind in princes' boundless might,

[1] Art-full, = full-of-art or constructed with art, ingenious: in frequent use contemporaneously. G.

Let tyrants[1] think that all their acts remain
Spread, like Apollo's beams, in each man's sight,
Which by the divers fate of good or ill
Either produce scorn, malice, or good will.

189.

Lastly, this tyrant-pow'r—veil of the man—
In people's eyes must not assiduous[2] be;
What hath[3] respect appears but now and then;
Reservedness, that art of Tyranny,
Equally graceth both pain and reward;
Demission[4] works remission,[5] not regard.

190.

Thus much in brief, to temper head-strong Vice
Which thorow princes often wounds the crown;
To shun which dangerous racking precipice,

---

[1] Southey repeats the misplacing of 'that' here, to the confusion of the whole stanza. G.

[2] Constant. So Milton,

> ....."I would not cease
> To wearie him with my *assiduous* cries".
> (P. L. xi. 310.) G.

[3] Southey grossly misprints 'hate.' G.

[4] Lowering. G.

[5] Abatement, diminution. Shakespeare uses the word several times *e. g.* "*remission* lies in Volcian breasts." (Cor. v. 2.); *et alibi*. G.

Tyrants should all signs of their selfness drown;
And yet by odds of place work every man
To serve them with the best, and worst they can.

191.

But if Pow'r will exceed, then, let mankind
Receive oppression, as fruits of their error;
Let them, again, live in their duties shrin'd,
As their safe haven from the winds of terror.
Till He that rais'd Pow'r to mow man's sin down,
Please for Pow'rs own sins, to pluck off her crown.

Of Church.

SECT. VI.

192.

HUS having in few images exprest
The effect which each extremity brings forth,
Within man's nature, to disturb man's rest;
What enemies again they be to Worth,
As either gyves, which Freedom doe restrain,
Or jubiles which let Confusion raign.

193.

There rests to shew what these degrees of vice
Work, when they fixt be to the moulds of Might;
As what relation of the prejudice,
Or help they yeeld of universal right;
Vice getting forces far above her own,
When it spreads from a person to a throne.

194.

For as in princes natures, if there be
An audit taken, what each kind of passion
Works, and by what usurp't authority

Order and reason's peace they do disfashion;
Within man's little world, it proves the same,
Which of Pow'rs great world doth confound the frame.

195.

When spread kings self-love into Church or Law,
Pulpit and bar streight feel corrupted Might,
Which bounded will not be, much less in awe
Of heavenly censure, or of earthly right:
Besides creation and each other part
Withers, when Pow'r turns Nature into Art.

196.

For as between the object and our sence,
Look where the mediums do prove dim or cleer,
Men's minds receive forms of intelligence,
Which make things either fair or foul appear;
So between Power's lust and people's right,
The mediums help to cleer or dazel light.

197.

Therefore to let down these high pillar'd thrones
To lower orbs where prince and people mixe,
As Church, Laws, Commerce, Right's well temper'd zones,
Where neither part extremity can fixe,

Either to bind transcendence by constraint,
Or spoil mankind of all rights but complaint:

198.

And where by this well-ballancing of Might,
Regalities of crowns stand undeclin'd,
Whose beings are not to be infinite,
And so of greater price then all mankind;
But in desire and function temper'd so
As they may current with their people go.

199.

When Theopompus, Lacedemon's king
Had rais'd up a plebean magistrate,
—Like Roman tribunes—which the soaring wing
Of soveraign excesses might abate;
He therein saw, although he bound his child,
Yet in a less room he did surer build.

200.

For infinite ambition to extend
The bounds of Pow'r—which finite pow'rs must w[i]eld—
As vain is, as desire to comprehend,
And plant eternity in Nature's field;
Whereby the idle and the over-doing
Alike run on, their own destruction woing.

201.

Active then yet without excess of spirit,
Strong princes must be in their government;
Their influence in every thing of merit,
Not with an idle, glorious name content,
But quick in nimble use, and change of wombs,
Which else prove people's snares, and princes' tombs.

202.

Placing the first foundation of their raigns
Upon that frame, which all frames else exceeds;
Religion, by whose name the scepter gains
More of the world, and greater reverence breeds
In forrainer, and home-bred subjects too,
Then[1] much expence of blood and wealth can do.

203.

For with what force God's true Religion spreads,
Is by her shadow Superstition known;
When Midas having over Phrygia shed
Seeds of this ceremony till then unknown,
Made Asia safer by that empty word,
Then his forefathers had done by the sword?

---

[1] Than. G.

204.

And is not Mahomet's forg'd Alcoran
Both with the heathen in authority,
And to the Christians' misled miter-throne
Become a very rack of tiranny?
Their spirits united, eating men like food,[1]
And making ill ends with strong armies good.

205.

Religion's fair name by insinuation
Secretly seiseth all pow'rs of the mind,
In understanding raiseth admiration,
Worship in will, which native sweet links bind
The soul of man, and having got possession
Give pow'rfull Will an ordinate progression.

206.

Forming in conscience lines of equity,
To temper laws, and without force infuse
A home-born practice of civility,[2]
Currant with that which all the world doth use,
Whereby divided kingdoms may unite
If not in truth, at least in outward rite,

---

[1] Psalm xiv. 4. G.

[2] Civilization, refinement. G.

207.

Therefore I say Pow'r should be provident
In judging this chief strength of Tyranny
With caution, that the clergy government
Give not the miter-Crown-supremacy;
Making the Sultan and the Caliph one,
To tyrannize both Cair and Babylon.[1]

208.

The Churche's proper arms be tears and prayers
Peter's true keys to open Earth and sky;
Which if the priest out of his pride's despair
Will into Tybris cast, and Paul's sword[2] try;
God's Sacred Word he therein doth abandon,
And runs with fleshly confidence at random.

209.

Mild people therefore honour you your king,
Reverence your priests; but never under one

---

[1] These were the places of residence of the Caliphes. B. [By 'Cair' no doubt Cairo is intended. G.]

[2] St. Paul is usually represented in early paintings with the sword, as St. Peter with the keys. Fairholt's Dictionary of Terms in Art thus explains: "In Christian Art, this saint is represented with a sword, significant of his martyrdom, and an open book symbolical of the new law and an attribute of apostleship." G.

Frail creature both your soul and body bring,
But keep the better part to God alone;
The soul His image is, and only He
Knows what it is, and what it ought to be.

210.

Lest else by some idolatrous conceit,
You give them that at sin can cast no stone,
Means to pluck down the Godhead by deceit,
And upon man's invention raise a throne;
Besides, where sword and canons do unite,
The people's bondage there proves infinite.

211.

Princes again wake, and be well advis'd,
How suddenly in man kings pow'r is drown'd,
The miter rais'd, the scepter prejudic'd,
If you leave all rights Superstition-bound;
For then as souls more dear, then bodies are:
So these Church-visions may strain nature far.

212.

Kings therefore that fear superstitious Might,
Must cross their courses in their infancy;
By which the Druids, with their shadow'd light,
Got goods from them that took their words, to be

Treble rewarded in the life to come ;
And works not paradice the same for Rome ?

213.

For with such mystical dexterity,
Racking the living souls through rage of sin,
And dying souls with Horror's mystery,
Did not the miter from the scepter win
The third part of the world, till LUTHER came,
Who shak't the doctrine of that double frame ?

214.

Lie not France, Poland, Italy and Spain
Still as the snow doth, when it threatens more,
Like engines, fitted to draw back again
Those that the true light severèd before ?
And was not Venice excommunicate,
For curbing such false purchases of late ?[1]

215.

Which endless thirst of sacred avarice,
If in the infancy it be not bounded
Will hardly by prosperity grow wise ;
For as this Church is on apparence[2] founded

[1] Cf. Phineas Fletcher's Locustæ. G.

[2] Appearance, as before. G.

So besides schools and cells which vail her shame,
Hath she not armies to extend her name?

216.

Pow'r for a pensil, conscience for a table,
To write opinion in of any fashion,
With wit's distinctions, ever merchantable,
Between a prince's throne and people's passion?
Upon which texts she raiseth or puls down
All, but those objects which advance her crown.

217.

Pow'r therefore, be she needy or ambitious,
Dispos'd to peace, or unto war enclin'd,
Whether religious in her life, or vicious,
Must not to miters so enthral mankind;
As above Truth and Force, moncks may prevail,
On their false visions crown-rights to entail.

218.

Again, let not her clerks by Simon's ways,
Lay wast endowments of devoted spirits;
And so pull down, what their forefathers raisd
With honour in their actions, if not merit;
Least as by pride they once got up too high,
Their baseness feel the next extremity.

219.

For first besides the scandal and contempt
Which those base courses on their doctrine cast ;
The stately monuments are not exempt,
Because without means, no Time-works can last ;
And from high pomp a desperate descent
Shews both in State and Church misgovernment.

220.

Whereof let her take heed, since when estates
From such a greatness do begin to fall,
Descent is unto them precipitate :
For as one gangren'd member ruines all ;
So what the modesty of one time leaves,
The time succeeding certainly bereaves.

221.

Therefore must thrones—as gods of forms exterior—[1]
Cast up this earthly mettal in good mould ;
And when men to professions prove superior,
Restrain proud thoughts, from doing what they would ;

[1] 'Thrones' in this line is = kings by metonymy : and kings are gods in human shape or 'gods of forms exterior.' G.

Guiding the weak and strong, to such extension,
As may to order sacrifice invention.

222.

And hereby work that formal unity,
Which brooks no new, or irreligious sects,
To nurse up faction or impiety:
Change ever teaching people to neglect:
But raise the painful,[1] learnèd, and devout
To plant obeying conscience thorowout.

223.

Veyling her doctrine with antiquity,
Whence and where although contradicting sects
Strive to derive and prove their pedigree,
As safest humane levels[2] to direct
Into what mould Opinion shall be cast,
To make her true, at least like Truth to last.

224.

Or if their times will not permit a truce,

---

[1] Laborious: and hence the old Puritan phrase of "a painful pastor and preacher.' G.

[2] Level, = an instrument for levelling as in st. 663, line 2nd, and so generally an instrument for accurately measuring any work. G.

In wrangling questions, which break Nature's peace,
And therein offer God and man abuse;
Let Pow'r yet wisely make their practice cease,
In Church or Courts, and bind them to the schools,
As business for idle, witty[1] fools.

225.

Ordering that people from the pulpit hear
Nothing, but that which seems man's life to mend;
As shadows of eternal hope and fear,
Which do contract the ill, and good extend,
Not idle theorick,[2] to tickle wit,
Empty of goodness, much more nice then fit.

226.

To which refining end, it may seem just,
That in the Church the supream magistrates
Should ancient be, ere they be put in trust,
Since agèd wit best tempers and abates
These heady and exorbitant affections,
Which are of blind proud youth the imperfections.

---

[1] Ingenious. Bacon uses it in 'Essayes' as before, (iii. p. 10 : lvi, p. 222.) G.

[2] Theory. G.

227.

The Roman laws for magistrates admit
None that had not pass'd the meridian line
Of youth, and humours incident to it;
And shall it not in functions divine
Be more absurd, to let that youth appear,
And teach what wise men think scarce fit to hear?

228.

Besides, chaste life years easilier may observe,
Which temper in cathedral-dignity,
Though wives be lawful, yet doth well deserve,
As to their functions leaving them more free;
Instance their learned works that liv'd alone,
Where married bishops left us few, or none.[1]

229.

And if men shall object, that this restraint
Of lawful marriage will encrease the sin,
And so the beauty of the Church attaint,
By bringing scandal through man's frailty in,
I say man's fall is Sin's, not Churche's shame,
Ordain'd by censure to enlarge her fame.

[1] See "Lacon in Council" by J. F. Boyes (1865) for curious and suggestive illustration of this sentiment (pp 137-140). G.

230.

Censure, the life of discipline, which bears
Powr's spiritual standard, fit to govern all
Opinions, actions, humours, hopes, and fears,
Spread knowledge, make obedience general;
Whence man instructed well, and kept in awe,
If not the inward, yet keeps outward Law.

231.

Which form is all that Tyranny expects,
I mean, to win, to change, and yet unite;
Where a true king in his estate affects
So from within man, to work out the right,
As his will need not limit or allay[1]
The liberties of God's immortal way.

232.

Where tyrants' discipline is never free,
But ballancèd, proportionèd, and bounded:
So with the temporal ends of Tyranny,
And ways whereon Powr's greatnesses are founded;
As in creation, fame, life, death, or war,
Or any other heads that soveraign are.

---

[1] Alloy, as before. G.

233.

Pow'r may not be opposèd or confounded ;
But each inferior orb command or serve,
With proper latitudes distinctly bounded,
To censure all states that presume to swerve,[1]
Whereby the common people and the throne
May mutually protected be in one.

234.

Not rent asunder by sophistication
Of one frail sinner,[2] whose supremacy
Stands by prophane or under-valuation
Of God's anointed Soveraignty :
And by dividing subjects from their kings
Soars above those thrones, which first gave them wings.

235.

Affecting such irrevocable might
With us, as to their mufty,[3] Turks liv'd under,
Or rather sacriledge more infinite,
From Jove to wrest away the fearful thunder :

---

[1] Cf. 'swarve' before for rhyme. G.

[2] The Pope. G.

[3] Now spelled 'Mufti'. G.

Salmoneus'[1] pride, as if the truth then fell,
When he alone rul'd not Earth, heav'n and hell.

236.

Salmoneus, who while he his carroach[2] drave
Over the brazen bridge of Elis stream,
And did with artificial thunder brave
Jove, till he pierc't him with a lightning beam ;[3]
From which example who will an idol be,
Must rest assur'd to feel a deity.

237.

Thus much to shew the outward Churche's use,
In framing up the superstitious sphear,
Subject alike to order or abuse,
Chain'd with immortal seeming hopes and fear ;
Which shadow-like their beings yet bereave,
By trusting to be, when their bodies leave.

238.

Where if that outward work which Pow'r pretends,

---

[1] Son of Aeolus by Enarete: claimed to be equal to Zeus: For the incident see Virgil, Aeneid vi. 585 &c. G.

[2] Carriage; qu: from Fr: carrosse, a coach. G.

[3] Cf. Apollod. i. 9: §7: Lucian, *Tim.* 2. G.

Were life indeed, not frail Hypocrisie,
Monarch should need no other laws to friend,
Conscience being base of their authority ;
By whose want, Frailty flashing out man's error
Makes thrones enwall themselves with laws of terror.

Of Laws.

SECT. VII.

239.

HENCE when these ancient friending gods foresaw,
Schism and division would creep into Nations,
By this subjecting subtilty of Law,
Which yet did yield their makers reputation;
They out of grace, sent down their progeny,
To keep men as they were created free.

240.

Were not to this end Ceres' well-fram'd laws
As proper for mankind, as was her corn?
Unto which cleer-ey'd Nature gives applause,
By mutual duties to which man is born
And from which no soul can delivered be
By time, discretion, or authority.

241.

Which laws were not engrav'd in stones, or brass,
Because these mettals must corrupt with Time;
Man's understanding that impression was,

Which did containe these images divine;
Where conscience seal'd with horror plagueth those
That against these born-duties doe oppose.

242.

But after mankind's hard and thankless heart
Had banisht mild Astræa from the Earth,
Then came this sophistry of humane Arts,
Pictures, not life of that celestial birth;
Falling from laws of heav'n-like harmony,
To man's laws which but corrupt reason be.

243.

Of this kind Solon was in Athens one;
Lycurgus cobwebs over Sparta spread;
The Locrians by Seleucus' nets were known;
By Zoroaster's, Bactria was misled:
Numa was he that first enthrallèd Rome,
And Nature's freedom under legal doom.

244.

After which change, men have liv'd more divide[d]
By laws, then they at first by language were;
For who before by Reason's light were guided,
Since, fondly worship to those idols bear;

As those new masters stir up in man's heart,
Who seldom find truth in the weaker part.

245.

A master-piece of pow'r which hath extinct
That former light of Nature men liv'd in,
Holding the world to crown-opinions linkt
Who simply prize not good, nor punish sin :
But whatsoever doth withstand their will,
That bar, as if by nature it were ill.

246.

Yet in man's darkness since Church-rites alone
Cannot guard all the parts of government,
Lest by disorder States be overthrown,
Pow'r must use laws as her best instrument ;
Laws being maps and councellors that do
Shew forth diseases, and redress them too.

247.

For though perhaps at first sight laws appear
Like prisons unto tyrants' soveraign might,
Yet are they secrets, which Pow'r should hold dear
Since envyless they make her infinite ;
And set so fair a gloss upon her will,
As under this veil Pow'r cannot do ill.

247.

After Augustus had by civil sword
Made that large Empire thrall to his ambition,
Men yet retain'd their priviledge in words,
And freely censur'd[1] every man's condition,
Till by the laws of wounded majesty,
Nor words, nor looks, nor thoughts were left them free.

249.

For then was this reproof of publick vice
And censure of their emperours' misdeeds
Made treason, and maintain'd with prejudice
Of men inforc't to nurse destroying weeds;
I mean that vice which Tyranny protected,
And by example all the Earth infected.

250.

Hence was it not a trespass capital
For men to say, vain Nero sang not well?
In nature then what latitude at all,
If o're man's freedom Tyranny thus swell?
Whether by LAW men root or ruine take,
Sure am I, scepters it doth sacred make.

---

[1] Judged. G.

251.

Besides laws fixe the bent of people's minds
From prying up, while selfness doth intend
Other men's faults, and therein heedless binds
That common freedom, which they would extend,
Laying an impost upon every vice,
To spread the crown by people's prejudice.

252.

This was that apple fatally cast down
By Momus, to set goddesses at war,
Which erst too busie were with Jove's high crown
And cabinet, where all dooms fixèd are,
Judg'd by a[1] shepheard, for it was thought due
That to inferiors they must submit that sue.

253.

Old Rome again was never out of strife
Between the people and the magistrates,
Till Appius brought from Athens rules of life,
Which are call'd laws in every other State,
Whetting their edges so against their own,
As none found leisure to restrain a throne.

---

[1] Southey leaves out 'a' in error. G.

254.

Since then by laws, the best and worst affections
Of pride-born tyrants form'd and disform'd be:
To give for them some general directions,
As stays against confounding Liberty,
I think were fit, as wel to shew the abuse
In making, as their good effect in use.

255.

Therefore if sometimes Pow'r do laws apply
To humors or occasions, time or place,
Yet those are found of most equality
Which bear a careful universal face;
Whereas particular and present laws
Diseases oft in time succeeding cause.

256.

Again those laws which universal be,
And thereby freely currant every where,
Doe with the grounds of Nature best agree,
And so with man most reputation bear;
As reason cast in frames to mould his passion,
Which kept in bounds, keeps all his acts in fashion.

257.

But the true ground of all our humane laws,
Ought to be that Law which is ever true,
His light that is of every being cause;
Beyond Whose providence what can be new?
Therefore as means betwixt these two extreams,
Laws should take light at least from those sweet beams.

258.

Yet by the violence of superiors' passion,
And wandring visions of inferior spirits,
Pow'r to make up it self strives to disfashion,
Creating error new aswel as merits,
In hope to form man's outward vice by laws,
Whose pow'r can never reach the inward cause.

259.

Yet do these laws make spirits of their profession,
Or such as unto them subject their state
Publickly wiser, warier of transgression,
Fitter to traffick, or negotiate,
Both in all other countreys and their own,
Far more respected, and much better known.

260.

For as the man that means to write or draw,
If he unperfect be in hand or head,
Makes his straight lines unto himself a law,
By which his after-works are governèd,
So be these lines of life in every realm,[1]
To weigh men's acts, a well-contenting beam.

261.

Hence must their aphorismes which do comprise
The summe of law be publishèd and stil'd,
In such a common language as is priz'd
And us'd abroad, not from the world exil'd;
Lest being both in text and language thrall,
They prove not coyns for traffick general.

262.

For is it meet that laws which ought to be
Rules unto all men, should rest known to few?
Since then how can Powr's soveraignity
Of universal justice bear a shew,
Reform the judge, correct the advocate,
Who knowing law alone command the State?

---

[1] Another example of realm = ream. G.

263.

After the infancy of glorious Rome,
Laws were with Church-rites secretly enshrin'd ;
Poor people knowing nothing of their doom,
But that all rites were in the judge's mind :
Flavius reveal'd this snaring mistery,
Great men repin'd, but Rome it self grew free.

264.

So with the crafty priesthood was the year
Made short or large by their intercalation :
Selling the time to publicans more dear,
Till Cæsar did reform this computation,
And brake these threads of avarice they spun,
Measuring swift Time by due course of the sun.[1]

265.

Hard is it therefore for men to decree,
Whether it better were to have no law,

[1] The Julian year, established by Julius Cæsar, consisted of 365 days, 6 hours : the Gregorian year which is that now accepted, is the Julian year corrected. The difference between the two occasions Old and New Style. Our Poet refers to the Embolismic or intercalary year, which consisted of 13 lunar civil months and embraced 384 days. G.

Or law kept onely as a mystery,
In their breasts that revenue from it draw;
Whether to bar all mandates be not one
With spreading them in dialects unknown.

266.

For as when liturgies are publishèd
In forrain tongues, and poor souls forc't to pray,
The tongue is trusted without heart or head
To tell the Lord they know not what they say;
But only that this priest-obedience,
'Twixt grace and reason, damns th' intelligence.

267.

So when our Law, the beams of life and light,
Under a cloud or bushel shall burn out,
The forrain accents which are infinite,
Obscuring sence and multiplying doubt;
We blinded in our ways by this eclipse
Must needs apologize for many slips.

268.

Again, laws order'd must be, and set down
So cleerly as each man may understand,
Wherein for him, and wherein for the crown,
Their rigor or equality doth stand;

For rocks not seamarks else, they prove to be,
Fearful to men, no friends to Tyranny.

269.

As making judges and not princes great,
Because that doubtful sence which they expound
Raiseth them up above the prince's seat,
By offring strength, form, matter, and a ground
To fashion all degrees unto their end,
Through men's desires which covet Law to friend.

270.

For as the Papists, do by exposition,
Of double sences in God's Testament,
Claim to their chair a soveraign condition;
So will these Legists in their element
Get above Truth and thrones, raising the barr
As high as those unerring proud chairs are.

271.

All which just ballancing of judge and Law,
Be marks of wise and understanding Might,
As it is under Order's lines to draw
These Courts supream which manage wrong and right,
Well auditing ill councels of Estate,
And giving each degree his proper rate.

272.

Prohibiting those lawless marts of place,
Which, by permission of a careless crown,
Corrupt, and give the magistrate disgrace
With servile purchase of a selling gown;
And so rate Justice at as vile a price,
As if her state were people's prejudice.

273.

Again, the length and strange variety
Of processes and trials, princes must
Reform; for whether their excesses be
Founded upon judges or pleaders lust,
The effect of either ever proveth one,
Unto the humble subjects overthrown.

274.

In course of Law beside[s], Pow'r must advise
Whether for tryal of men's private right,
It will be found just, equal, fit, or wise
To give the judges any other light,
Then in men's titles by cleer evidence:
In case of crime, by testimony of sence.

275.

Again, if common justice of the king
Delay'd, dishonor'd, or corrupted be,

And so the subject rackt in every thing,
By these word-mongers,[1] and their liberty,
Whether God's government among'st His own,
Was not more wise, which advocates had none?

276.

The warlike Lacedemon suffered not
In her Republick any advocate;
The learnèd Athens neither usèd lot
Nor plea, but party, and their magistrate;
As if these Courts would never stainless be,
Which did allow that gaining[2] mistery.

277.

Because their end being meerly avarice,
Winds up their wits to such a nimble strain,
As helps to blind the judge not give him eyes,
And when successively these come to raign,
Their old acquainted[3] traffick makes them see,
Wrong hath more clyents then Sincerity.

278.

Hence these new judges made, sometimes adhere
Unto the plain words, sometimes sence of Law,

---

[1] Cf. Treatise of Religion, st. 67th, line 2nd. G.

[2] = profitable. G.

[3] Southey misprints 'acquinted' G.

Then bind it to the makers of their chair,
And now the whole text into one part draw;
So that from home who shall but four years be
Will think laws travell'd have aswell as he.

279.

Moreover, to give Justice ready eyes
Kings here and there in provinces remote
Should to establish proper Courts devise
That their poor subjects might not live by vote,
Nor yet by charge of Care's far-fetchèd right,
Give more advantage to oppressing Might.

280.

Such be those seven sinews mystical,
In the French monarchy, sent from the brain,
To spread both sence and motion thorough all,
And over sence, opinion, custome raign;
Paris, Grenoble, Tolous, Bordeaux, Rone,
Dijon, and Aix; seven pillars of a throne.

281.

Which, were they not oft subject to infection
From noisome mists beyond the Alpes arising,
Would keep the health of that State in perfection
As well from falling as from tyrannizing:

But Fate leaves no man longer quiet here,
Then blessed peace is to his neighbor dear.

282.

Pow'r then, stretch no grounds for grace, spleen or gain,
But leave the subject to the subject's Law;
Since equals over equals glad to raign,
Will by advantage more advantage draw,
For throne-examples are but seldom lost,
And follow'd ever at the publick cost.

283.

People by nature love not to obey,
By force and use yet grow their humours mixt,
Now soft like wax, now hardned like the clay,
And so to make or marre, soon mov'd or fixt,
As these two moderators Wit and Might
To their ends wave or let them stand upright.

284.

Craft though unpunishèd in majesty,
Yet never governs, but works by deceit;
Base instrument of humane frailty,
Which audits not by standard, number, weight,
But with false lights makes Tyranny descend
To do and hide; by which stairs none ascend.

285.

Crowns therefore keep your oaths of coronation,
Succession frees no Tyranny from those;
Faith is the ballance of Pow'rs reputation,
That circle broken, where can man repose?
Since scepter-pledges, which should be sincere,
By one false act grow bankrupt everywhere.

286.

Make not men's conscience, wealth and liberty,
Servile without book to unbounded Will;
Procrustes-like he racks humanity,
That in Pow'rs own mould cast their good will;
And slaves[1] men must be by the sway of Time,
Where Tyranny continues thus sublime.

287.

Observe in greatness this one abstract notion,
That odds of place possest by spirits inferior,
Must find strange hills and dales in every motion,
Nature and Chance growing by turns superior;
Whence inward weakness never shall be able
To keep the outward borrow'd glories stable.

288.

Yet above all these, tyrants must have care,

[1] Southey grossly misprints 'staves'. G.

To cherrish those Assemblies of Estate
Which in great Monarchies true glasses are,
To shew men's griefs; excesses to abate;
Brave moulds for Laws; a medium that in one
Joyns with content a people to the throne.

289.

Besides a safe wrest[1] of these boundless kings
To get supply or envyless reform,
Those over-stretchèd or relaxèd strings,
Of many members which might else deform;
Still[2] friends to thrones, who—as lords of the choice—
Give life or death to all acts by their voice.

290.

For as in man this little world of ours,
All objects which affect him diversly
With pain or pleasure under feeling pow'rs
Of common sence, are summon'd presently,
And there diminisht, judgèd, or approved,
A crisis made, some changèd, some removed.

291.

So in the kingdom's general conventions,

[1] See stanza 43rd, line 2nd, and relative note. G.

[2] Southey again misprints 'sill'. G.

By confluence of all States doth appear,
Who nurseth peace, who multiplies contentions,
What to the people, what to great men dear,
Whereby soveraignity still keeps above
And from her center makes these circles move.

292.

Again, since Parliament assemblèd be,
Not for the end of one State but of all,
Practice of no side can be counted free,
Anger of greatness there is short-breath'd fall;
Altring, displacing, raising, pulling down
Offends the burroughs, adds not to the crown.

293.

People like sheep and streams go all one way,
Bounded with conscience, names and liberty;
All other hearts enhance, do not allay
The headlong passions they are governed by:
Craft teacheth craft, practice goes not alone,
But ecchoes self-wit back upon a throne.

294.

Small punishments fail not to multiply
These hydra-heads, and gives them glory cheap;
Blood were too much, great bodies cannot die;
Pow'r that sows truth, may wealth and honor
reap;

Men joy in war for conscience, and can die
Giving their wealth to save their liberty.

295.

Conscience—I say—is to the people dear,
And liberty they—like all creatures—love;
What then needs any force or practice here,
Where men upon such fair wheels easily move?
It may stir jealousie, but cannot friend,
That which both king and men should make their end.

296.

Pow'r, therefore, bring all ways degenerate
Back to their old foundations whence they grew,
And suffer not these pillars of estate
By private selfness to become still new;
Of private orbs th' orizons are not great;
Must they not then diminish where they treat?

297.

The large times, strength like, kept elections free,
Sheriff's us'd no self-art in their county-days;
Great men forbore those shapes of majesty;
Which gave the people freedom in their ways;
And what can scepters loose by this free choice,
Where they reserve the royalty of voice?

298.

At their will, either to dispense with Law,
When they are made as prisons of creation,
Or legal yokes which still more bondage draw
By bringing penalties in reputation,
Mild people of the throne desiring leave
More specious nets on all estates to weave.

299.

Freedom of speech ecchoes the people's trust;
That credit never doth the soveraign harm;
Kings win the people by the people must,
Wherein the scepter is the chiefest charme;
People, like infants joy in little things,
Which ever draws their councels under kings.

300.

Hence Power often in her largest days
Hath chosen free and active instruments,
From subjects' faith, that in the subjects' ways
Humbly to suffer have been well content;
And since man is no more than what he knows;
Ought he not pay that duty which he ows?

301.

And what expect men for their lives and goods,
But some poor feathers out of their own wings?

Pardons—I mean—from those law-catching moods,
Which they before had beggèd of their kings:
Let them speak freely, then they freely pay;
Each creature hath some kind of Sabbath-day.[1]

302.

Lastly, when princes most do need their own,
People do spy false lights of Liberty;
Taxes there vanisht, impositions gone,
Yet doth the parlamental subsidy
Relieve kings wants at home with people's wealth,
And shews the World that both States are in health.

303.

From these sweet mountains therefore let us view
The former great estates which govern'd all,
And by the use of many people knew,
Which way to frame things for the general;
Yet kept their soveraignity above,
By using councels not of fear, but love.

304.

The Roman State,—for all free States a glass—
In her deliberations of weight,

[1] Boyes in 'Lacon', as before, makes this line the text for a well-thought, well-worded homily: pp. 202—3. G.

When she did strive to shun or bring to pass
Her real councels, or well mask't deceit;
Had to her five and thirty tribes recourse,
Assembling many, to keep all from worse:

305.

By them determining in Mars his field
The denizing of realms, magistrates creation;
When Rome was barren, what did over yield;
When Peace or War, and why, had reputation;
Peazing the Senate's pride, the people's rage,
Lest the excess of one should all engage.

306.

And by this equal ballance kept upright
Her far extended government and Law;
Till War, by over-adding unto Might
The scale uneven did on her side draw,
And by a martial mutinous election
Of Emperors, brought Empire to defection.

307.

Far different is the course of Tyranny,
Where man's felicity is not the end,
By self-contracting soveraignity:
Neither to scepter nor to people friend;
The mystery of iniquity being there,
Not to assemble Parliament for fear.

308.

Instance the present brutish rapsody
Of mankind under Ottoman's base line,
Where if in one man should assemblèd be,
Of their well-beings freely to define,
What were it but a liberal commission,
For them, to cast off bondage by sedition.

309.

The true uniting Grecian policy,
Of course frequented twice in every year,
Their ancient Amphiction Synodie ;[1]
A parliament for many causes dear,
Aswel at home to curb men's divers minds,
As all encroaching forrainers to bind.

310.

For active Pow'r must not her bounds enlarge
By stretching crown rights—which by Law descend—

[1] Synod, Assembly. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (iv. 25.) and Pausanias regard Amphictyon as the founder of the amphictyony of Thermopylæ and in consequence of this being a sanctuary of A. was built in the village of Anthela on the Asapus, which was the most ancient place of meeting of this amphictyony. (Herod. vii. 200). G.

To taxe, impose, monopolize, or charge,
As if both God and man's Law had no end,
But to enhance prerogatives as far,
By arts of Peace, as they by conquests are.

311.

Else when this crown assumèd liberty
Hath shuffled all distinct imperial rests,
To give confusèd will soveraignity;
Order thus shak't in thrones, in subjects breasts
Makes duty nothing else but servile fears,
Where fruits alike for both, Occasion bears.

312.

And as these laws which bind man's birth to thrones,
Have therefore, under wise kings' government,
Never been creatures of their wills alone,
But like man-yokes made by mankind's consent;
So taxe again to one from many paid,
Is not from one voice well, but many laid.

313.

Much less ought pulpit-doctrine, still'd above
Thorough cathedral-chairs or scepter-might,
Short, or beyond th' Almightie's tenure move,
Varying her shape, as humors vary light;

Lest when men see God shrin'd in humane Law,
Thrones find the immortal chang'd to mortal awe.

314.

And to descend from visions of the best,
Both place and person from her shadows must
Be so upheld, as all may subject rest
To Pow'r Supream, not absolute in trust:
So to raise fees beyond reward or merit,
As if they might both taxe and disinherit.

315.

Which to avoid, as Pow'r's chief mystery,
Birth, education may give princes light,
Yea in each art and master-peeces be
Help to select among the infinite;
No work of chance, as from Pandora's tunne,
But[1] happy choice, by Fame's cleer eye-sight wonne.

316.

Again, though use of taking from man's youth
Be but a doubtful way of discipline
To work a habit in the love of Truth,

[1] Southey misprints 'by.' G.

Though instrumental practice do refine
The serving, not the judging pow'rs of wit :
And for uprightness, so the more unfit,

317.

Yet in the liberty of advocates,
Which are of judges now the nursery,
Fame is a glass, where governours of States,
May see what good or ill proportions be
In every heart fram'd to do wrong or right
Against temptations both of gain and might.

318.

Nor ends this work when men are chosen well,
Some Place corrupts them as it shews them forth,
Some humours rais'd, some humbled do excel :
Security is no true nurse of worth :
Therefore that spirit of Fame, which made the choice,
Must still in ears of princes keep a voice.

319.

And whence hath Pow'r more safe intelligence ?
Since Fame doth serve them at her proper cost,
And is not thrall to grace, or to offence :
Though sometime clouded, very seldom lost ;
And where she lies by evil information,
She thinks retreat no loss of reputation.

320.

Now since these rules for laws, do even like laws,
Equally serve the tyrant and the king;
This, to good uses for the publick cause,
That, all mens freedom under Will to bring,
One spider-like, the other like the bee,
Drawing to help or hurt humanity.

321.

If I without distinction do set down
These humble precepts in a common stile,
Their difference being not[1] placèd in the crown,
But craft or truth, to govern, or beguile;
Let him that reads in this and in the rest
Each crudity to his fair end digest.

[1] Southey misplaces 'not' before 'being.' G.

Of Nobility.

SECT. VIII.

322.

HEN wise Prometheus had his fine clay drest
To fashion Man, he nothing more did shun
Then Nature's uniformity in beasts,
Of which by Art there can be nothing won;
Whence in these creatures' frame He did comprize
Many both strong and strange varieties,

323.

That as there divers kinds be of complexions,
So in them there might be preheminence,
Divers of spirit, vigor, and affections;
To keep up which degrees of difference,
Reason, of life the guardian, was ordain'd,
As conscience to Religion was chain'd.

324.

And to confirm this inequality
Have not the feignèd gods in orbs above

Gloriously plac'd that specious hierarchy
Whose influence doth inferior spirits move;
And in slack or swift courses, high or low,
The divers honours of each being show?

325.

So that of force he must a stranger be,
To their Republick that will not confess
The supream synods of this Deity,
To be compos'd of differing nobleness;
And partially who can be placèd there,
Where they that cleerest shine, most honor bear?

326.

By birth and worth that Hercules high-priz'd
Shines he not over Cassiopea's head?
Justice she being onely canoniz'd
For Perseus' sake who did her daughter wed;
And he that for another's sake doth rise,
His merit not in worth, but favour lies.

327.

Would it not be an aukeward consequence
To see that virgin frail Erigone
Who by compassion got preheminence,
Adorèd by our mariners to be

Far above those two brothers' saving light,
Whose twinn-like glory makes the Zodiack bright?

328.

Doth not Orion worthily deserve
A higher place, even for the constant love
Wherewith he did the chaste Diana serve,
Then frail Bootes who was plac'd above
Onely because the gods did else foresee,
He should the murtherer of his mother be?

329.

Let therefore no man mutine,[1] when they see
Pow'r borrow patterns of creating Art
Out of these thrones wherein the majesty
Of Nature is maintain'd through every part,
By their well-laid distinctions of degree,
Which grows confus'd again by parity.

330.

For as the harmony which sence admires
Of discords—yet according—is compounded,
And as each creature really aspires
Unto that Unity, which all things founded;

[1] Transition-form of 'mutiny'. G.

So must the throne and people both affect
Discording tones united with respect.

331.

By which consent of disagreeing movers,
There will spring up aspects of reverence,
Equals and betters quarrelling like lovers,
Yet all confessing one omnipotence,
And therein each estate to be no more,
Then instruments out of their Maker's store.

332.

From whence nobility doth of creation
A secret prove to kings and Tyranny:
For as the stamp gives bullion valuation,
So these fair shadows of authority
Are marks for people to look up unto,
And see what princes with our Earth can do.

333.

In whom it is great wisdom to reward
Unequal worth with inequality;
Since it doth breed a prosperous regard
Aswel to princes as to Tyranny:
When people shall see those men set above,
That more with worth then Fortune seem in love.

334.

Yet must this brave magnificence be us'd
Not really to dispossess the crown,
Either of pow'r or wealth, but so intus'd
As it may rather raise then pull it down;
Which frugal majesty in growing Rome
Gave her above all states a lasting doom.

335.

For she discern'd, although her wealth were vast,
Yet people and desire did far exceed it,
So as what spread too far could never last,
And for a State to give away and need it,
Shadows for bodies she saw were to choose;[1]
Which must both strength and reputation loose.

336.

The way she therefore did observe to prise
Well-doing subjects, and encourage merit,
Were titles, trophies, which she did devise,
Costless, and yet of force to quicken spirits;
Thus unto Africanus Scipio's name,
Hannibal's and Carthage eccho'd were by Fame.

---

[1] The allusion is to the old fable of the dog and shadow in Æsop. G.

337.

His brother's sirname Asiaticus
The story was of Asia subdued;
Perseus captiv'd by Macedonicus:
To Iugurth straight Numidicus ensued:
By which course as each conquest brought forth more
So they by giving still encreast their store.

338.

Besides, proud princes must in their creations
Of form, worth, number keep a providence;
For if too many, that wains reputation;
Bought worth or none, lets fall their reverence,
With men, that think hability[1] to do,
The scope creating-pow'r is bound unto.

339.

For farewel publick stiles and dignity
When Nero's dark thoughts shall communicate,
Unto his fellow-minstrels levity,
Triumphal statues, offices of State,
Or honour to such spirits, as though in age
Never serv'd Mars nor muse, but on a stage.

---

[1] Notice the 'h', as in 'pre-eminence' st. 323 and 327. G.

340.

Nor must this specious body rise so high
As it short shadows may on people cast,
Or by reflexion dim the prince's eye
Who creatures' over-greatness cannot taste:
But live like clouds in middle regions blown
Which rise and fall to make their mover known.

341.

Slaves with the Romans were not justice-free:
If all but nobles should stand so confin'd,
What wretched state were our humanity?
As if step-mother-like, Nature combin'd
With Pow'r, not only to make most men slaves,
But in a few lords to prepare them graves.

342.

Such laws in Poland set so easie rates
On mean men's lives, rate great men's lives so high,
As they may murther all inferior states,
Yet subject to no other justice lie,
Then—as for dogs—a senceless money-fine,
As if men were not images divine.

343.

Against this can it strange or wonder be,

Where creatures their creators overgrow,
If princes hold their crowns by curtesie?
Poland and Germany are ballanc't so,
As scepter's glory is in both these lost,
And nothing left kings but a name to boast.

344.

Fair Albion, when she swel'd with subjects' worth,
And by her princes' merits gather'd fame,
Examples then did to the World bring forth,
That over-greatness often sways great frames;
Instance her active barons' martial pride,
Which helpt the royal issue to divide.

345.

Likewise while glorious Naples did enjoy
Of home-born princes the felicity,
Yet even then, peer-greatness did annoy
That dainty scepter with strange mutiny,
As oft as to the Pope it seemèd good.
To serve his turn by hot aspiring blood;

346.

Till at the length this waving course of their's
Under a great lord wrought this servitude,
Who now curbs all their mutiny with fears,
And yet that fear again with hope deludes:

Keeping men like reeds, to his self-ends bent,
By making new Rome with her own content.

347.

Kings therefore that would not degenerate
Their scepter-arts to artless[1] Anarchy,
To many, few, or any other state,
Must wisely bound their own nobility;
Not raising men by charge, but specious shew,
Not yet so high as they may overgrow.

348.

In Scotland their hereditary sheriffs
—Each is a vice-roy in his native shire;—
Add oft to prince's dangers, people's grief;
Justice so like to faction looking there,
As men are sometimes forc't to fall from kings
For shadow, under subalternate wings.

349.

Princes then know it to be ominous
For you to spread or to participate
That pow'r creating, which doth govern us,
Either to baseness, still unfortunate;
Or else to such a strengthned corporation,
As easily cannot wave her reputation.

[1] Unskilful, as before. G.

350.

The lustre wherein Pow'r is magnified
Being only to command that tame wild beast,
People I mean, who oft prove dangerous tied,[1]
And love equality undistinguisht best;
Against whose rage there is no better fence,
Then well-advisèd Pow'r may have from hence.

351.

Where else, while both nobility and kings
To poize themselves—as neither can be great—
The people pulling feathers from both wings:
Will first like equals, not like subjects, treat
Of all prerogatives, and then aspire
To be the doom[2] or standard of desire.

351.

Wherefore this great and little corporation
Should be so temper'd as they both may give
Unto their head a strengthning reputation,
And thence that freedom take in which they live;
People not rackt, exhausted or made proud,
But to be kept strait, evermore kept bow'd.

---

[1] Misprinted 'tides' and the error continued by Southey. G.

[2] Judgment, as before. G.

353.

For soveraign Pow'r, which cannot stand alone,
Must by her subalternness[1] supported be,
Keeping a distance between every one,
To shun contempt even in authority;
Whose little springs unto that mother sea,[2]
Whence they derivèd are, must tribute pay.

354.

Nor were these humane gods[3] so prodigal
Of given honours, but they did reserve
A power to curb their citizens withal;
Phœbus well did his banishment deserve
By offering to these thunder-workers wrong:
Cyclops, which to his father did belong.

355.

Now when these ebbing, or still flowing states,
Thrones wisely have with bounds establishèd;
Then that this frame prove not unfortunate,

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[1] Cf. st. 348. G.

[2] Cf. st. 116th, line 4th. G.

[3] Cf. st. 221st and relative note. That matterful old book "Politeuphia: Wit's Commonwealth" quotes this bit from Lactantius "Kings as they are men before God, so are they gods before men." G.

Foe to itself, and doubtful to the head;
Pow'r must with constant stern of government,
Suppress dividing humorous[1] discontent.

356.

Especially that brutish ostentation
Of private courage, which sets life and soul
Not only at a trivial valuation,
But lifts a subject farre above his roll,
Into the princely orb of making laws;
As judge and party in his private cause.

357.

Which confident assumings, if they be
Suffred, do much allay[2] the soveraign right,
Since all the moulds of fame and infamy,
Pow'r of man's life and death, be acts of Might,
And must be form'd by Majesty alone;
As royalties inherent to a throne.

358.

Whose delicate complexion is such,
That if in any member it be wounded,
It gangrenes all; nay when man doth but touch

[1] Capricious: so in Shakspeare frequently. G.
[2] Allay = lower. G.

Her mysteries, then is her state confounded :
Besides, who as king, dare kill a man,
As man again will kill kings, if he can.

359.

Lastly, where many states become united
Under one throne, though not one government,
Civil dissentions easily are invited,
And in man's nature—ever discontent—
Under the colour of a private feud,
More mischief stirr'd up is then understood.

360.

Thus absolute pow'rs that will respected live,
Must govern greatness with a greater mind,
And care their actions may no scandal give,
As unto change or littleness inclin'd ;
But with a constant universal care,
Make them good subjects that ill people are.

Of Commerce.

SECT. IX.

361.

HEN these gods saw mankind's simplicity
Wander with beasts, as fellows in creation,
To both their thirsts alike the water free,
Acorns their food, Earth bed and habitation;
They take compassion, and from heaven sent
Their spirits, who did handicrafts invent.

362.

Which mysteries the slownes of man's wit,
In many years could else not have attain'd:
That as men grew, so they might learn to fit
Nature with Art, to be by them maintain'd;
And on the Earth find hearbs for food and health,
As well as underneath it, mines for wealth.

363.

To which end Ceres down to Sicil came
And spread her fruitful art of sowing grain,
As Bacchus taught the Naxians how to frame

The grape for wine; and Pallas shew'd the vein
Of planting olives, which do bear her name,
A goddess motherless, born of his brain,
That over all the other gods did raign.

364.

Which wisdome likewise first taught men to hide
Their naked skin, that bears no native wooll;
And by chaste Pallas did reveal beside,
How from the worm, of silken riches full,
The people's hands might work choice robes for kings;
Which since the pride of man, in common brings.

365.

Again, when mankind was thus finely taught
To use the Earth, with all that on it grew,
Instantly Vulcan, through her bowels sought
For precious mettals, then to people new;
Helping this common dame of our's the Earth,
By many midwives, unto many births,

366.

Lastly, lest one clime should abound and burst
Starving the rest, which of their store had need;
This active Pallas likewise was the first
That found, and gave these moving bridges speed

As well to import, as to carry forth,
From zone to zone all richesses of worth,

367.

And of her loving father did obtain
Castor and Pollux, as two saving lights,
To calme the storms, which hidden do remain
In furrows of the Ocean's face, who spites
To have his deep complexion without leave
Plough'd up by those, that venture to deceive.

368.

Thus did these gods, o're great to doubt the might
Of all the World, though pride and wealth they knew
Apt to conspire against the ways of right,
In hope to make soveraignity still new;
Yet suffer men to grow in wealth and pride,
As helps not to unite them, but divide.

369.

Whence in the world they publisht, that each zone
Created needful was of neighbor climes;
And—for they must corrupt that needed none—
God made them subject both to want and times,
The Art and Nature changing each with other,
Might nurse all Nations like a common mother.

370.

For long ere Jove, slye Mercury enjoyn'd
By the advantage of his golden tongue,
To fashion grounds, from whence Arts might be coyn'd,
To leave the weak, and qualifie the strong,
With an attentive sweet obedience,
Helping his reason, to command his sence.

371.

Long, as I said, ere this felicity
Did these ingenious[1] goddesses descend ;
And in that golden time's simplicity,
As unto need, and not excesses friend,
So finely Art and Nature mixe in one,
As made Pow'r rich with more then was her own.

372.

Thus see we in this native image-light
No lack where Art and Nature joynèd be ;
Who therefore will in idleness delight,
And make not doing his felicity,

---

[1] Ingenuous. G.

As Earth by him turns wilderness again
So Nature in him rusts for lack of pain.[1]

373.

Labor and care then must familiar be,
Thorough the vigor of men's education
To give mankind against necessity
Protection, in some honest occupation,
And all grow undertakers, not a drone :
Both ignorance and idleness unknown.

374.

To which end Pow'r must nurseries erect,
Aud those trades cherish which use many hands,
Yet such as more by pains then skill'd effect,
And so by spirits, more then vigor stand;
Whereby each creature may it self sustain,
And who excel add honor to their gain.

375.

For traffick is a quintesence confected
Of mixt complexions,[2] in all living creatures;
The miracles of which may be collected
Out of those fine webs which on Nature's features

[1] = pains (in culture) G.
[2] Constitution, as before. G.

Art works to make men rich that are not good;
A base, whereon all governments have stood.

376.

Venice, that famous merchant-Common-wealth
Raisèd her rich magnificence by Trade,
Of coasts, towns, creeks,—erst refuges for stealth,—
Along the midland sea she suburbs made;
Spices of Ægypt, Barbarie's fine gold;
All works of Syria her marts bought and sold.

377.

A city, till the Indian trade was known,
That did like Europe's exchequer fill and spread,
Adding more provinces unto her own,
By mines of money with her traffick fed,
Then martial Philip had subdu'd in Greece,
Or he whose art brought home the Golden Fleece.

378.

Wherefore with curious[1] prospect these proud kings
Ought to survey the COMMERCE OF THEIR LAND;
New trades and staples still establishing,

[1] Inquisitive, inquiring, careful. See Mr. W. A. Wright's Bible Word Book, *s. v.* as before. G.

So to improve the work of every hand,
As each may thrive, and by exchange, the throne
Grow rich indeed, because not rich alone.

379.

Whose misteries, though tearm'd mechanical,
Yet feed Pow'rs triumphs, nurse necessity
By venting, changing, raising, letting fall,
Framing works both for use and vanity
In mutual traffick, which, while marts stand fair,
Make Nature's wealth, as free as is her air.

380.

To ballance these by equal weights or measure,
The audit of our own must be the guide
As what for use, for honour, gain or pleasure
At home now is, or else might be supply'd :
The rest so by exchange to rise or fall,
As while none loose, we yet may gain by all.

381.

For as in leagues of States, when either might
Advantages of times, words, humours, wit
Unequally have lost, or gotten right,
This surfet ever brings disease with it ;

Which—like a torrent—fails not to break out,
Leaving with loss of faith both States in doubt.

382.

So when these little limbs of great estates
By craft become on either side opprest,
Can Wit bind Pow'r with her deceiving rates,
Or hatch her cuckoes in the eagle's nest?
No: marts and trades, which Nature's standards be
Straight find, and break this inequality.

383.

Thus did the Hanse's sometimes tyrannise
The northern princes in their infancy
Of trade and commerce; till with time grown wise,
Kings saw how crowns deceiv'd with homage be;
Which once discern'd, these contracts won by stealth,
Can never stand to harm a Common-wealth.

384.

Now under merchant, miner, clothier, plough,
Are all these arts and mysteries contain'd,
Which out of each do teach our princes how
Their pomp in war and peace may be maintain'd;

As in whose choice, use, government, and measure,
Though bullion wants, yet States recover treasure.

385.

All which rich mines, made for the good of all,
Are yet abus'd by short breath'd wits that will
The price and true encouragements let fall
Of industry; and excellence in skill;
Hoping through ignorance, deceit, and stealth,
While they loose art and credit, to get wealth.

386.

The cure of which contagious disease
Rests only in the pow'r of Government,
That must with real arts her people raise;
Not marre her markets to give fraud a vent,
And can almost as well make flesh and blood,
As artisans, that shall be true and good.

387.

For though each vice brings for her occupation,
Wherein Earth yields the matter, Art the forme,
To make gain infinite by transmutation,
Since forms redoubled, triple gains return;
It being fatal to refinèd sin,
By staining manners to bring profit in.

388.

Yet must there be a kind of faith preserv'd
Even in the commerce of the vanity,
That with true arts their markets may be serv'd,
And credit kept to keep them great and free ;
Weight, number, measure truly joyn'd in one,
By trade with all States to enrich our own.

389.

Among which mass of arts, if one too much
Draw up, then traffick stands, and realms grow poor ;
Whereas in States well temper'd to be rich,
Arts be the men's, and men the princes are ;
Form, matter, trade, so working every where,
As goverment may find her riches there.

390.

Then must the supream Pow'r, this wakeful spirit,
Observe proportion in her industry,
Never her own from traffic disinherit,
But keep exchange in due equality ;
Not bringing home more then she carries forth,
Nor buying toys,[1] with things of staple worth :

[1] Trifles, baubles. G.

391.

But work her matter with her home-born hands,
And to that use fetch forraign matters too,
Buying for toys the wealth of other lands,[1]
To gain by all the good or ill they do;
Keep up the bullion—for it doth entice—
Yet not transport it, for 'tis prejudice.

392.

Wherein wise princes ought to imitate
The Saracen's inriching-industry,
Who Ægypt's wealth brought to their barren State,
Enticing vice by far-fetcht vanity;
And for their ostridge-feathers, toys of pride,
Get staple worth from all the world beside.

393.

Which as a watch-word, shows Pow'r may impose,
With less hurt on the commerce of delight;
For there by dearness what can credit lose,
Where Fancie's value is so infinite,
As wealth and reason judge not, but devise
To serve her both with objects and with eyes?

[1] As in barter with the Indians, as told in many a stirring page of Hakluyt and other of the elder Travel-books. G.

394.

Thus the Sabeans heapt up mass of treasure,
By venting incense unto every Nation,
Aswel for Superstition as for pleasure;
Thus Syria got by balsam, estimation
And milions brought by custom to the Jew;
Wealth kept for him that their State overthrew.

395.

Hence trains the Hollander his little child,
To work toys for the vanity of us,
And in exchange our cloth to them we yield;
Wise men and fools, even serve each other thus,
The standard of the whole world being seen
To furnish her's, by carriage out and in.

396.

Now though wise kings do by advantage play
With other States, by setting tax on toyes,
Which, if leagues do permit, they justly may,
As punishment for that vice which destroys;
As real things yet must they careful be,
Here and abroad to keep them custome free:

397.

Providing cloth and food no burthen bear:

Then equally distributing of trade,
So as no one rule, what we eat or wear,
Or any town the gulf of all be made;
For though from few wealth soon be had and known,
And still the rich kept servile by their own:

398.

Yet no one city rich, or exchequer full
Gives States such credit, strength or reputation,
As that foreseeing long-breath'd wisdom will,
Which, by a well-disposing of creation,
Breeds universal wealth, gives all content,
Is both the mine and scale of Government.

399.

Admit again the Holland industry
Lay tax on victual, spare their merchandise;
Yet is it not ground for a monarchy,
To view his own frame with democrate eyes;
Since soveraign pow'r in one and many plac't
From divers lights, must divers shadows cast.

400.

Do we not see the fertile soyls decay'd
And Eastern cities by the tiranny

Of that great lord, who his vast wealth allay'd[1]
By bringing all those cities into three?[2]
Which three prove greedy ill digesting wombs,
Not treasuries of wealth, but rather tombs.

401.

And while the forraign gulfs I thus discribe,
My wish is that I may not seem to stain
Some o're-swoln city of the Albian-tribe,
Which starving many, smother'd doth remain,
And yet will not be curèd of this grief,
By yielding to the neighbor towns relief.

402.

Moreover, fix and marshal in such wise
Pow'r commerce must, of strangers with her own,
As neither may the other tyrannize,
But live like twins out of one body grown;
The strangers ships not banisht, nor their ware,
Which double custome brings, and gages are.

403.

No monopolies suffered in the land,

---

[1] Alloyed, = diminished. G.

[2] Constantinople, Cairo, Aleppo. B.

All interpoling[1] practices withstood,
In merchant-laws, a constant gentle hand
Imposing, parrallel'd with letting blood;
The bullion not enhancèd nor embased,
The forrainers not dandled or disgraced.

404.

Lastly, she labor must to draw her marts
Within her ports, and so the strangers wealth,
Framing such laws and rates for forrain parts,
As public commerce may be kept in health;
Their goods as pawns, their industry as vents
To multiply our traffick, shipping, rents.

405.

Which may be done in any great estate,
Whose native riches others do exceed
In real worth, and thereby may give rate,
And draw home forrain States by gain or need;
But where this wants, there treaty must supply,
Farming our neighbour' wares to work this by.

---

[1] 'Poll' is to rob, to cheat. I have not met 'interpoling' elsewhere: and neither Halliwell nor Wright has given it. G.

406.

So had that worthy, great, and maiden Queen,[1]
If she had liv'd, brought home that staple wealth
Of the Muscovian empire to have been
Conjoin'd with hers, for either countrey's health ;
He selling his here dearer then elsewhere,
She fixing for them both a staple here ;

407.

And when these had been stapled here together,
The silks and riches of all other parts,
Must needs have follow'd these great standards hither,
With such as live by commerce or by arts ;
A work already by experience known,
Trade having staid or chang'd with our's alone.

408.

And though the stranger rarely will commit
His ship and ware to island princes' States,
Yet if he wealth or freedom find with it,
Fear of imbargo it easily abates ;
Since by the present gain, if evil come,
He hath to buy, or bear out heavy doom.

---

[1] Queen Elizabeth. B.

409.

Therefore let thrones, whose States have seas to friend
Study by trade to make her navies great;
As glorious engines, when they will offend,
Magnificent theaters when they treat,
Bridges that will transport, and moving tow'rs,
To carry in and out triumphing Pow'rs.

410.

Under which safe, yet moving policy,
Did finite Athens make the infinite
Forces of Xerxes out of Greece to fly;
Lepanto likewise proves the Christian's might
Able by sea to shake the Turkish pow'r,
Where his land-armies all the World devour.

411.

England, this little, yet much envy'd isle,
By spreading fame and power many ways:
Admit the World at her land-conquests smile,
Yet is her greatness reverenc'd by seas;
The ocean being to her both a wall,
And engine to revenge her wrongs withall.

412.

To which end kings must strive to add a spirit
Unto the mariner, in war and peace;
A minister of use and double merit,
Train'd without charge, to travel without cease;
Pow'r hath no nobler, nor yet surer way
Then that by which both save and get they may.

413.

Now though this course of traffick may appear
To multiply strange shipping, not our own,
Yet in the practice all States find it cleer,
That still by traffick mariners have grown;
As ships by manufactures multiply,
And where good ships be us'd, vents cannot dye.

414.

Instance of both the Netherlanders be,
Who have encreast their shipping with their marts,
Adding to each by that fair industry
Of manufactures, many forming arts,
By wealth and concourse of all other nations,
Even in war, grown rich with reputation.

415.

And though of staple riches they have none,

By Nature in their native countrey bred,
To sway or induce more then their own,
Yet are they by these arts establishèd;
Merchant and Mars, his well mixt policy,
Of all exchanges grown the nursery.

416.

Whereby they want no bullion, cloth, or food,
But with the surplus, when need is, supply'd,
Enrich themselves, raise custome, yet do good
To all their limbs, amongst whom they divide
Here Law, there Court, here one trade, there another,
Lest any should engross to hurt their mother.

417.

Again, thrones must, by regal providence,
Govern that much us'd unknown mystery,
And costless model of intelligence,
Exchange—the type of merchants' policy,
Whereby he raiseth or lets fall all things,
And though inferiour, binds and looseth kings.

418.

By which large providence of Government,
Both over native, and the forrain wealth,
None shall be over-strain'd or discontent,

But from the heart each limb receive his health;
The crown reliev'd without restraint or craving,
By tributes for our safety, of our saving.

419.

In all which fair particulars recited,
Pow'r shall concurrence and assistance find
From every subject, with self-ends invited,
To improve arts, Earth, men in every kind,
Making the harvest great, the labor small,
By doing all things with the help of all.

420.

Now, if against these noble mines of wealth,
Any from forrain strains of tiranny,
With colour to keep all degrees in health,
Would bind or limit this prosperity,
As nursing pride and luxury in one:
Vices that easily climb up to a throne;

421.

And out of these false grounds make Pow'r conceive
Poverty to be the best end of subjection;
Let him, to judge how much these mists deceive,
First, put himself in povertie's protection,
And he shall find all wisdoms that suppress,
Still by misforming, make their own forms less.

422.

For every open heart knows riches be
The safest gages to keep men in peace,
Whose natures cannot rest in misery,
No more then flesh can, till her anguish cease;
So that who over slaves do tyrannize
By choice, are neither truly great nor wise.

423.

Therefore proud princes ever must propound
That royal and ingenious[1] design
Of making all men rich, not minute bound,
And to the same end, study to refine
Nurseries for traffick, mysteries and art,
To furnish equal wealth in every part.

424.

For poor then, tell me, how can scepters be
When all their subjects shall in wealth abound?
Or how, not great in fame and majesty
When strangers help to frame our traffick sound?
And so make people strengths unto their king,
Who, without these moulds, charge and danger bring.

---

[1] Ingenuous. G.

425.

Besides, severely here may laws proceed
Against the drone, the vagrant, or the thief,
Where occupations doe supply men's need,
And labor give each family relief;
Lastly, how can men's spirits mutiny here,
Where each man's private, to himself is deer?

Of Crown Revenue.

SECT. X.

426.

THE ancient sages took our Earth to be
A simple element of one complexion,[1]
Differing onely in variety
Of heats and cold from heavenly reflexion;
But Nature which can never be confin'd
To narrow contemplations of one mind,

427.

This abstract dream of former time confutes;
For in the circuit of one clime her womb
Compos'd as various is, as are her fruits;
Here gold for life's use, marble for her tomb,
Here veins of silver, there quick mercury,
Here Pales,[2] there Pomona fruitful be.

---

[1] Constitution, as before. G.

[2] Pales, the tutelary divinity of shepherds, in whose honour the festival *Palilia* was kept. G.

428.

Which sweet variety doth not proceed,
From influence, or temper by the sun;
But from the first diversity of seed
Which did through her created vessels run,
And to the heat—as tributes—pay their springs
Which unto ripeness Phœbus after brings.

429.

Cold Germany thus yields from her deep mines
Under the Earth, a lasting spring of treasure,
Thus Hungary, where Phœbus neerer shines,
Above the Earth, yields native wealth and pleasure;
As in her center she besides contains
Of gold and silver many hidden veins.

430.

Hence again France, though ever martial bent,
Was by her late Fourth Henry's policy,
Known for a paradice-like continent:
Who out of that discern'd fertility
Both multiplied the crown, and people's part,
By Nature's emulation with his art.

431.

From both which mines in and above the Earth,
Nature excludes the sloth of each degree,
Offring the riches of her many births,
Onely where she her self gives industry;
As if both man and things, must there consent
Where wealth is multiplied to ornament.

432.

For as rich Nature is the mould of plenty;
So Art again is Nature's consummation:
Again, as Phœbus' throne in stuff was dainty,
And yet the work of far more estimation;
So under kings, not Earth, or creatures dumb,
But art of man it is that yields the sum.

433.

Pow'r therefore, that these pillars of estate
Church, laws, trade, honor have establishèd,
Must then take care as equally to rate
Rents and expence, that by those to the head,
Wealth, sinew-like may give a strength to move,
And breed respect by mixing fear with love.

434.

First, because forrain States bear reverence

Where they find wealth in soveraignity,
As they which need keep no intelligence;
Besides the example of frugality,
By cutting of excess, that else consumes;
Tempers proud Vice, which otherwise presumes.

435.

Again, for wealth though these fair grounds be[1] laid,
And treasure gotten by these harmless mines;
If Order yet be not as well obey'd
In the expence, wealth suddenly declines;
And want, pressing through man's faults, on the crown,
More fatally pulls king and people down.

436.

Therefore ought monarchs to be provident,
In weighing things, which though they trivial seem,
Yet are of consequence in Government:
As difference of diet, custome, clime;
Since high rais'd Athens, and Piræum[2] port,
Had manners, and askt[3] laws of different sort:

[1] Misprinted 'he'. G.
[2] The Piræus. G.
[3] Southey misprints 'ackt'. G.

437.

Whence I conclude that northern princes must
Cherish the staple rent of their demesnes,
And to their own inheritances trust,
Which to the crown of old did appertain,
At least by Parliaments supply their lust;[1]
Else shall these kings be easily overthrown,
That taxe and give the people's with their own.

438.

And though the finer heats scorn these safe stays
Of Crown Revenues, as if pow'r and wit
From people's wealth might endless profit raise,
Yet in the practice who observeth it,
Should find those taxes which the South brooks[2] well,
Do often make the colder climes rebel.

439.

Besides, who well observes a monarchy,
Shall find disorder there a fatal thing;
The head being both of unprosperity,
Good fortune, fame, or infamy the spring:

[1] Notice the use of 'lust' as = desire or need in the most general sense, not designating immorality. G.

[2] Submits to, as before. G.

So that oppression, which makes both sides poor,
Ought to have entrance at a narrow door.

440.

Again in taxes, differences be:
Some from the crown's prerogative alone,
Pleading an over-racking pedigree,
Others by Parliaments, so mixe the throne
With commen people's good, as but excess
Nothing can thence rise, to make scepters less.

441.

France then, thou large extended monarchy,
Keep to thy self the charge of crown-demesne,
For bleeding taxes which breed misery
In men, and so reflect on crowns again,
By forcing them to sell tribunal seats:
Which make thy justice vile, thy judges great.

442.

Lewis th' Eleventh, of craft not majesty,
The perfect type, being askèd what the crown
Revenues might of France amount to be,
Said, France a meadow was, which mow it down,
As oft as need or pleasure did require,
Would yet grow up again to feed desire.

443.

Where[1] majesty indeed is kept above
By true magnificence, rais'd of her own,
Riot a steep is where States headlong move ;
The rage of Pow'r is by low-stooping known,
For as, but miters, few by stews do get,
So who but Negars[2] tax on breathing set ?

444.

Kings then that would have their magnificence
To be maintain'd by springs which should not fail
Must with that council keep intelligence,
Wherewith the dying farmer did prevail,
To make his children dig his vine for gold,
Who found it not in mettal, but in mould.

445.

This vineyard in a king is his demesne,
Joyn'd with that art of arts, which man improves
And envyless makes active monarchs reign,
Rich both in people's treasures and their loves :
What Midas wish, what dreams of alchimy
Can with these true crown-mines comparèd be ?

---

[1] Southey misprints 'when'. G.

[2] Query—Negroes ? The transition-form of our 'niggers'. G.

446.

Again, prerogatives in Government,
Which privileдg'd Pow'r at first to take, then prise
What might her true necessity content,
Kings should not multiply, to prejudice
That infancy, where men, by what they gave,
The rest intended for their use to have.

447.

But where excess of times makes Pow'r exceed
This safe equality of old foundations;
Rather with temperance qualifie that need,
Then strain old words to modern intimation,
And thereby wrack men to provide for more
Excess, then all those ages knew before.

448.

Of which excess, whether the root proceed
From humours naturally unsatiate,
Or casually made violent by need;
Odious those cures are which equivocate,
As did Caligula when by quirks of Law
Sibi et suis he to sons did draw.

449.

And though it for a wisdom of estate

Enrollèd be in the senate-house of Rome,
When they with Carthage did capitulate,
That she must from her old sea-nurses come;
Inferring—city—signified no wall,
But laws, which men obey and rule withal.

450.

Whereby although more got was then was meant,
And by advantage evil acts made good;
Yet what this adds to any government,
Is in dishonour ever understood;
Since crafty webs, which oft serve present turn
To warn times coming, do like beacons burn.

451.

Besides, if pomp of princes must exceed,
In those kinds rather let their riot be,
Whose natures though they leave the crown in need,
And so embase the state of majesty;
Yet keep the bullion still within the land;
And go, and grow, like fame from hand to hand;

452.

Yet as a spring for ever feed the crown,
By making people able to relieve,
Where riots that transport, pull scepters down,

Give kings and people mutual cause to grieve,
At that extreme and fatal consequence
Of coin transported by misgovernment.

453.

Among[1] whose many heads, though of the chief,
Is that most idle and unmeasured charge
Of leager[2] agents sent to take a brief,
How forrain princes alter, or enlarge
Alliance, councels, undertakings, trade;
Provisions to defend, or to invade.

454.

Which indigested pomp was never known
Nor us'd of old, but in the factorage
Of merchants' States to pass away their own,
By making princes' marts their proper stage,
Whereby exchange, want, folly, or desire
To self ends they let fall, or raise things higher.

---

[1] Southey misprints 'amongst' G.

[2] More usually 'leiger': a resident or ambassador at a foreign court or an attendant on the service of another. Shakespeare has it twice "everlasting *leiger*" (Measure for Measure, iii, 3) and "unpeople her of *leigers*" (Cymbeline i. 6). So 'legate'. G.

455.

Else springs it from improper imitation
Of that long breath'd incroaching court of Rome,
Which to give her stain'd wares deer valuation,
And govern all by superstitious doom;
From her false ark these cormorants sends forth,
To prey on everything they find of worth.

456.

And to that end retaineth every where
A spy, promoter, treasurer, and mint;
Whose charge those humble provinces must bear,
That are besides, exhausted without stint,
By priests who cherish for their pride and gain
Those sins the very heathen did restrain.

457.

The narrow center of which cloister wit,
As it seeks to contract the Deity,
In finite frames of Art contriv'd by it;
So are the large acts of humanity
Shut up in dungeons, by their muddy sence,
That, except error, nothing comes from thence.

458.

Now what affinity can other kings
Assume with this, that only spend to know

Which feathers soar in forrain eagles wings?
From whence there can no other profit grow,
But vainly by expence of wealth, to buy
The vicious forms of forrain tyranny.

459.

And so, by these mistrainèd instruments
Bring Faction home among the liberal arts,
With her unequal moulds of Government,
To traffick or distract the people's hearts;
Free denizing[1] that practical deceit,
By which not small but great States gather weight.

460.

Out of the insight of which error, many
Wise kings this modern course have alter'd,
And rarely either sent, or taken any,
Unless for present good occasionèd
To treat of marriage, commerce, peace or war;
In which returns the expences answerèd are.

461.

Again, since as of duties, so expence,

[1] To make a 'denizen' is to admit to residence in a place with certain privileges. G.

There is a divers nature and degree,
Kings in the choice of their magnificence,
Though absolute they seem, yet cannot be;
But bound amongst the many heads of charge
Chiefly their fame or empire to enlarge.

462.

Nay, even in these expences which be founded
Upon the laws of Nature, honor, State;
Wise princes with their fortunes must be bounded,
Since all excesses be unfortunate,
And do not onely prejudice a throne,
But leave no creature master of his own.

463.

Of this kind, charge of children, buildings be,
House-keeping, furnitures, gifts and rewards,
All lively shadows of Authority,
To multiply obedience and regard;
Wherein yet kings should therefore keep a measure,
As in things fram'd to live, and die with treasure.

464.

Whence I conclude it for a monarchy
Wisdome, in her expences and creations,
To use a spare discreet frugality

Which gives the work and workmen reputation;
And so again by all ingenious[1] ways
Descending rents not impositions raise.

465.

And when with these fair cautions princes have
Forrain revenues, and their native rents,
Disposèd thus both to beget and save,
They may with costless grace or disgrace vent
Men's thoughts, and frame their due obedience
More then can be wrought in them by expence.

466.

For kings are types of heavenly excellence,
How be it drawn in finite colours mixt,
With pow'r and wit, both earthly influence;
Yet were but these arts in our princes fixt,
How to be strong by others' love and might,
Their States would soon clime far above their right.

---

[1] Ingenuous, as before. G.

Of Peace.

SECT. XI.

467.

PEACE is the next in order, first in end ;
As the most perfect state of Government,
Where Art and Nature each to other friend,
Enlarge the crown by giving men content;
And what by laws within and leagues without,
Leaves nothing but prosperity to doubt.

468.

So that in her orbe there is left for kings
Great undertakings, far beyond the flight
Or pitch, of any lower-feather'd wings :
The charge, care, council being infinite ;
As undertaking range[1] of Time, and seas,
Which tyrant-like, to ruine else finds ways.

469.

Ordering of boats, and bridges to be placed
Upon advantage, for the trade of men,

---

[1] Misprinted 'rage', and so continued by Southey. G.

Rebuilding monuments, or towns defaced,
Cleansing of havens, draining dry of fenns,
Fitting out brooks, and mears[1] for navigation,
All works of princely art, charge, reputation.

470.

Such was the cleansing of the Ægyptian sluces,
Which got Augustus ornament and food,
For his Prætorian bands, and people's uses;
In this kind prov'd the Appian high-way good;
Those publick works which active States bring forth,
Shewing the stranger maps of wealth and worth.

471.

Therefore kings' providence should still adorn
Nature's producements, by the pow'r of Art;
But to subvert her frames proves scepters scorn;
Through Athos, who yet sails in any part?
Is Corinth's Istmus from the main-land torn?
Cæsar's vain dreams, as if fall'n flattering Rome
Over the free-made elements, had doome.

472.

The base of great works, and the majesty,

[1] Meres. G.

Is when the workers, pow'r and wisdom shew,
Both in the use and possibility;
So over Ister,[1] Trajan's bridge did goe;
Amasis and Cheops how can Time forgive,
Who in their useless pyramids would live?

473.

Next, and of more refinèd policy,
The founding is of these sweet nurseries,
Where knowledge and obedience multiply
The fame and sinews of great monarchies;
As schools, which finely do between the sence
And Nature's large forms, frame intelligence.

474.

Unto which end in Achai, Athens, Creet,
Rhodes, Lacedemon, and more, were erect
Illustrious states, and pædagogies meet,
By reason and example to protect
The coming ages from that barbarisme
Which first breeds ignorance, and after schisme.

475.

Whence again Rome in all her colonies,
Even while her eagles march't, had yet a care,

[1] The Danube. G.

To plant the muses in the soldiers' eyes ;
Such means to move or qualifie they are ;
Where, in the Turks excess of tiranny,
These dainty Nymphs excel'd for ever be.

476.

And to give more faith to this sympathy,
Which between Mars and Muses ought to rest,
The poets in idea's far more free,
Then any other arts of mortal breast,
Have in their fables ever shew'd them mixt,
As, if divided, neither could be fixt.

477.

Hence feign they, when Jove sent his daughters nine,
To polish Greece, he would not have them pass
Alone, expos'd to every savage myne
Or rage, where in the Earth abundant was ;
But gave them Hercules for such defence,
As active Vertue is to Innocence.

478.

Have not again these muses, when they sing
The *Io Pæan* of their thundering father,
Apollo, with his shafts nock't[1] in the string,

[1] = notched: the arrows set on the string. G.

For consort of their quire or master rather?
To show where Truth chains not men by the ear,
There savage nature must be rul'd by fear.

479.

Whence amongst all the famous victories,
Which old Rome from the East did triumph on,
Even that of Fulvius did deserve the prize,
Who for a trophy of Pow'r overthrown
Brought home the statues of these sisters nine
And that of Hercules, alike divine.[1]

480.

For which the city did a temple build,
As spoils that their god Mars did better fit,
Then all those dainties which fine Asia yield,
Or curious cobwebs of Ægyptian wit,
Plenties of Nylus, wealth of Macedone;
Which helpt not to raise up, but wain a throne.

481.

Hard by which temple, Rome built up two more,
The one to Worth, the other unto Fame;
From Worth to Fame, there was an open door,
From Fame to Worth she did no passage frame:

[1] Livy, viii, 38: ix, 21. G.

The mind of which brave Nation was in this
To shew that Fame but Vertue's shadow is.

482.

Now, though it rarely be to be expected
That all kings perfect should, like Cæsar, be ;
Who in himself both muse and Mars erected,
At least with Trajan's ingenuity :
Let them that do in either branch excel,
Still, in the other, cherish doing well.

483.

And as the elephant, who not created
To swim, yet loves and haunts the water's shoar ;
So let wise Pow'r in mighty empires stated,
Though boast they cannot in the muses' store,
Yet honor spirits of Parnassus free,
As knowing best what fits humanity.

484.

Nor is the building of the muses' cell
Pow'r's chief work, but to manage every spirit,
And frame each science so to doing well,
As States and men may multiply by merit ;
All arts prefer'd by odds of practick use,
The meer contemplative scorn'd as abuse.

485.

Chiefly this cell-art of the wrangling monks,
Captiving both man's reason and his sence,
In dreams of yesterday, wherewith these trunks
Strive to corrupt divine intelligence;
Their nominal and real pedigrees
Being but descents of curious vanities.

486.

And hence it is the acts of peace and war
Never recorded here so bravely were,
As when these abstract wits liv'd not to mar,
By making their fond visions charact[1] bear,
Of these men's deeds; who, what by sword they wan,
By pen as lively registred to man.

487.

For as that active worth was then admir'd,
The effects it wrought being of large extent;
So in those times less actively inspir'd,
The stiles of that time seem magnificent:
As if God made them trumpets fit for Fame,
Who by their deeds deserve to bear her name.

---

[1] = Characters. G.

488.

Meaning that when Time's iron days should blast
That manly discipline of doing well,
The art of writing should no longer last ;
Like Nature's twins that must together dwell ;
Doing and writing being each to other,
As bodies be of their own shadow's mother.

489.

This was the form, the birth, the education,
And art of that age, which did train her own,
To keep up great estates in reputation,
Making them stand, by worth, as they had grown ;
And drawing men from visions of abuse
To arts, whereof both war and peace find use.

490.

In which account of objects still, are life,
Speech, manners, scepter, sphear, Earth, shield and sea,
All Reason's children, by the Sence, his wife,
Fram'd to guide Nature in an active way ;
Whether she would be rich, or serve her need ;
Raising no trophies for her, but by deed.

491.

Now when of monarchies the mother-seat

On these chief pillars thus shall setled be ;
Then active princes may grow rich and great,
By striving under one self-policy,
Their provinces divided to unite,
As Worth's addition unto native right.

492.

Which union must all divers things attone[1]
As Councils, Laws, Church, Commerce, Language, Coin,
Degrees and Forces, so that in the throne,
As in one head, they may like members joyn
Intirely, without any reservation ;
Which union is, all else but combination.

493.

A State, like unto coats with many seams,
Subject to all the rents of Time and Chance,
As floating high upon Occasion's streams,
Which one by harming others, doth advance :
The witty selfness of each humour hiding
That which in common traffick proves dividing.

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[1] Reconciled. See a specially interesting article on 'at one' in Mr. W. A. Wright's Bible Word Book *s. v.* as before; also our Glossarial Index to Phineas Fletcher *s. v.* G.

494.

Whereas that first and well united frame
With head and members joynèd to one end,
Can bring forth nothing to divide the same,
Each in the whole to it self being friend,
Whereby no inward storm can easily rise,
Nor outward forces do it prejudice.

495.

And though of these the rights divided be,
Some into hands of people, some of kings;
Yet must not scepters by transcendencie
Draw home their own right with imperial strings,
But by applause, to make up this new chain,
Rather perswade the people then constrain.

496.

More tenderly of force ought thrones to deal
With those, where men prescribe by right or use;
For common liking must to common weal
Be wonne, or man his profit will refuse,
And turn his waxen mettal into steel,
Which, harming others, self-harm cannot feel.

497.

And when unto a true equality

All inequalities Pow'r hath reduced,
Leaving her subjects no regality,
Lest divers minds should easily be seduced;
They that enjoy them, to restrain a throne,
And they again to mutiny, that have none.

498.

Then yet all wandring titles of succession
Wise Princes must with providence unite;
Else will these crown-rights leave a deep impression,
That no set course can long continue right;
Since when the one line shall become extinct,
All union built on that base lies unlinckt.

499.

Moreover, realms of natural descent,
When they with those which Chance or Conquest win,
Shall be united in one government,
Then scepters may more famous works begin;
Planting new colonies in savage parts,
There to spread wisdom, pow'r, laws, worth and arts.

500.

Following, for guide of this establishment,
Either the common standard of man's reason,

Or else the second light of government,
Which stories yield, and no time can disseason,
Drawn from those monarcies which overran
In little time all this known world of man.

501.

Whose bent ambition still to conquer more,
Compell'd them wisely to dispose their own,
And by that discipline they us'd before,
Work nations conquer'd neer as soon as known,
To live in order, and by trade get wealth;
With equal justice, keeping both in health.

502.

By which mild wisdome, they grew lords of fame,
As well as crowns; and rather wanted men
Then stages,[1] means, or models how to frame
Ruines, mishaps, to better form again;
Building upon the barbarous conquerèd,
The uttermost of ill, well governèd.

503.

See we not even among the brutish Nations,
If men to them transport civility,[2]

[1] Southey grotesquely misprints 'sages'. G.

[2] Civilization, refinement, as before. G.

Those colonies are dear in reputation,
And soon link't with them in affinity?
Their comings construed not to spoil, or take,
But as come from their dwellings for their sake.

504.

So Athens with Ionian colonies
Did people Asia; Lacedæmon spread
Her Dorian tribes thorough fertile Italy,
[Ruling benignant where he conquerèd][3]
And so by her that Euxine barbarous sea
Made hospitable is unto this day.

505.

This the chief pillar is of policy,
That ever by the Romans was invented,
Envyless to uphold their monarchy,
And make the stranger with their yoke contented;
Prodigal of Rome they to their neighbors were,
Whereby her own womb did the empire bear.

506.

For by the long-breath'd course it came to pass,
That all States did not onely stand in awe

[1] A line left vacant here, I have filled up, as *supra*. G.

Of Rome as mistriss; but all the whole world was
Link't unto her in traffick, league, and law;
And did so much adore the Roman's fame,
As they forsook their own to bear her name.

507.

Where, in this crafty world's declining age,
Those large spread roots are witherèd, or dead;
All spirits of worth to present Pow'r engage,
And there so master'd, dull'd or measurèd,
As while men fear their little toys to loose,
Worth they choose rather to suppress, then use.

508.

From whence it is that we find of erecting
Decay'd estates, or colonies deriving,
Or proper laws, the present time directing
Examples few; but many princes striving
Through fear of change, and fatal hate of pains;[1]
With public loss to bring in private gains.

509.

Which privateness forgets Time's glory past,
And useth time to come but to despise;
Her narrow ends being on the present plac'd,

[1] Painstaking. G.

And so in narrow selfness onely wise;
No undertaking empire to extend,
To purchase fame, or any noble end.

510.

But selfly to root out our enemies,
Deface fair monuments, spoil civil places,
Dispeople realms of men, and Earth of trees,
Spoiling, to varnish Tyrannie's disgraces,
And bring the World to those days back again,
Where Pow'r did over beasts, not people raign.

511.

Again, this art of tyrant cittadel,
Not suffering free citizens but slaves,
What is it, but a council out of Hell,
Making the prince's triumphs, people's graves?
And sorts it not well with the Sultan's word
Who vaunts, grass grows not, where his horse hath stood?

512.

This is the cause the holy prophet[1] spake
And wrote, but of four monarchies alone,
As if the rest, these lights did rather take

[1] Daniel. G.

To be on slaves a strict dominion
Not empire but a crafty violence,
Whose ruines never raise magnificence.

513.

For that indeed is no true monarchy,
Which makes kings more then men, men less then beasts,
But that which works a perfect unity,
Where kings as heads, and men as members rest,
With mutual ends like twinns, each helping other,
In service of the Common-wealth, their mother.

514.

Thus unto kings their provinces remote
—Which oft else grudge at subaltern subjection,—
May with good government be kept devote;
Men do ascribe so much unto protection,
And oft adore most what they least do know :
Like specious things which far off fairest shew.

515.

And as man's heart, though in one place confin'd,
Yet to remote limbs sends forth vital pow'rs,
With ease or disease[1] to affect the mind,

[1] See our Phineas Fletcher, *s. v.* as before, for parallel use of the word 'disease'. G.

According to her good or evil hours ;
Whence sometimes arms have of her pulse more sence,
Then other members less far off from thence,

516.

Even so, that providence of heavenly love,
Which holds the opposing elements in awe,
Though in her throne advancèd far above
The finite reach of any mortal law,
Yet never rests confin'd to any seat
But by far spreading, proves her own pow'r great.

517.

Therefore, since wisdom works both far and nigh,
As boundless, not restrain'd to time or place,
Ador'd when absent, honour'd in our eye,
The more assiduous, still the more in grace ;
Repressing man's ambition with his fear,
A ballance kings must use, and people bear.

518.

On these States, what true judgement can we lay
Which by the arts of crafty Tyranny,
So to their ends do people's humours sway,
As thrones' rights grow a kind of mistery ?

Whence Mahomet himself an idol makes,
And draws mankind to Mecha for his sake.

519.

Thus did the Caliph of great Babilon,
In former times, bewitch the barbarous nations,
With sight of rich robes, shadows of his throne;
Reserv'd magnificence gives such reputation,
Adding to arts of pow'r, what still seem more,
By making those souls less that must adore.

520.

But to conclude, as modern tyranny,
Hath not in any kind established,
A State by peace unto prosperity
Of people, or of honor to the head;
But rather to the prejudice, or shame
Of both—like torrents—spread abroad ill name.

521.

So against this, Pow'r absolute should strain
In their estates to settle such a PEACE,
As, people pleas'd, kings might with pleasure raign,
By making men's wealth to their use increase;
Which so will link all members to the head:
As Change shall there find all her movers dead.

Of War.

SECT. XII.

522.

AN'S error having fram'd his mind and sence
So divers, as no real works long please,
Is justly scourg'd by that Omnipotence
Which never in it self lets vice find ease;
Whence the vicissitudes of Peace and War,
Pow'r's punishments, as well as glories, are.

523.

Yet since excess in some bounds must subsist,
And War have bounds from other heads then Might,
Because her torrents else run where they list,
And in desire raise titles infinite;
Right and defence must therefore be her base,
Which yet may varied be, in many a case,

524.

Among which, let Protection be a chief,
When weak crowns threatned are to be opprest,

An image of the Deitie's relief:
Shewing that thrones at once can move and rest,
And so grow greater by that aid they give,
As in whose pow'r more then their own States live.

525.

Crown-right again which natively descends,
Claiming estates in other crowns' possession,
Must not neglected be in princes' ends,
And yet have curious[1] audits in progression,
Wealth, right, occasion from the barr of words,
In princes' States appealing to their swords.

526.

In petty rights therefore proportion'd care
Doth well become the royal States of Pow'r;
But that indeed by which crowns honour'd are,
Is care, no one throne may the rest devour;
So that to wain a growing Empire's might,
Infallibly is every prince's right.

527.

Lastly, it much more danger will be found,
Where princes shall be thought adverse to War,

[1] Careful, as before. G.

Out of the heart's effeminatish ground,
Then to be held as wit and courage are,
Ambition's undertakers, and no friends
To any right that interrupts their ends.

528.

For since most crowns were first establishèd
By War, can times or States' vicissitudes
So constantly by man be governèd,
As they shall not his idle times delude ;
And on those monarchs desolation lay,
That will neglect that base whereon they stay ?

529.

Hence sprang that wisdom, whereby martial Rome
Did Janus temple, in eight hundred years,
Not three times shut, but open to the doom
Kept them of Mars, whose force each question cleers,
And to his banners did one consul fit,
As she in justice made the other sit.

530.

Then let not kings by their neglect invite
Aspiring States or princes to do wrong ;
Security exposeth Wealth and Right,

And prays to their ambitions that are strong;
Nor is the spoiler's hand so soon made free,
By any thing as inhabilitie.[1]

531.

But so provide for unprosperities,
As Fate at least may qualified succeed,
Framing for change of time such policies,
As no distempers or diseases breed;
By home-broils to tempt forrain enemies;
Lest we for them, not for ourselves prove wise.

532.

To which end princes must raise ordinance,
Provide munition, armor; fortify
Such places as may best secure mischance,
Siege or surprize, which Conquest trafficks by;
And such again, as if a tumult grow,
Wise princes to them may for refuge go.

533.

Euphrat,[2] Danuby,[3] Rhene[4] were those old bounds
Of Rome, which Barbars[5] ventur'd not to pass,

---

[1] So 'preheminence'. G.
[2] Euphrates. G.
[3] Danube. G.
[4] Rhine: see our Phineas Fletcher, Vol. II. p 244. G.
[5] Barbarians. G.

While many legions kept their winter grounds;
But chang'd by Constantine when that force was,
Goths, Hunnes, and Scythians over-spread her face:
Like horses running in a champian[1] race.

534.

Such bulwarks modernly have held out Spain,
From her mixt stiles of right and usurpation;
Such have withstood the Sultan's force again,
And sav'd the Germans from depopulation:
Whereas for want of these, fair Albion
Hath five times been assail'd, four times orecome.

535.

Besides, strong kings must arm and exercise
Troops of their people in securest times;
And to the same end ever patronise
Some active spirits in Wars of forrain climes,
To train up leaders, who, before need come,
May discipline their men for Mars, his doom.

536.

Luctatius,[2] who the good luck had to end

[1] Plain, flat; applied to the country. See our Phineas Fletcher, as supra, II. 238. G.

[2] Q. Lutatius Catulus, consul, won the great naval

Rome's first great Punick war, did on the land
By practice teach his seamen how to mend
That discipline in peace by which wars stand;
As Philopœmen made Achaia spread
By lazy peace, yet lively governèd.

537.

If Roderigo that unlucky king,
Over those Goths which did inhabit Spain,
Had well observ'd these rules, that savage spring
Of Saracens could not have shak't his raign,
But still confin'd unto the Africk shore,
Must have remain'd and not have sought for more.

538.

Where he at home, afraid of Civil War,
Disarm'd his men; which to bold Tarrif was
A sign that active force might venture far,
And by Spain's weakness bring his ends to pass:
Which shews again, when friends or foes draw swords
They ever loose that rest or trust in words.

---

victory over the Carthaginians, off the island of Aegusa, A.D. 241, with result commemorated in the context. G.

539.

Who knows not that the Roman conquering
nation,
Lest their brave people should degenerate
By Peace, to keep up spirit and reputation,
Trainèd their soldiers in each neighbor State,
And under colour of protecting friends,
Laid new foundation for her own new ends;

540.

Sounding the wit and force of every nation,
That when time serv'd, they might their masters
grow;
Thus held they up the Ætolians' reputation,
To conquer Greece, and Asia overthrow:
By friending Eumenes, Africk's made theirs,
Colour'd by help to Masanissa's heirs.

541.

Pow'r must again so plant intelligence,
And ballance neighbor princes by their good,
As in our dangers they may feel offence,
And hold it fit even with their subjects blood,
In our protection so to work out theirs,
That publick pow'r may warrant publick fears.

542.

Not highly changing party, ends, or way,
But constant keep their course on beaten grounds ;
Urging, that equally all princes may
Abjure incroaching, rest within their bounds,
Not strive by adding others to their own,
To make the world's divided empire one.

543.

And as the times now stand, unto this end
They must keep open still that chief division ;
Not peiecing it for enemy or friend,
Fear, want, or any false gloss of misprision ;
For it takes hold upon the soveraign part,
Which still by conscience multiplies the heart.

544.

I mean that many-headed separation,
Which irreligious being, yet doth bear
Religion's name, affects her reputation,
And which—as it is now us'd everywhere—
Becomes the ground for each ambitious thought,
And shadow of all actions that be naught.[1]

[1] Wicked. G.

545.

Her name being dearer far, then peace and wealth,
Hazard for her, of freedom, life and goods,
Welcome, as means to everlasting health,
Hope with no mortal pow'r to be withstood;
So much of greater force is conscience,
Then any lower vision of the sence.

546.

This rupture therefore never must unite,
Nor yet the heat of opposition slack,
Chiefly because her pope is infinite,
And to his own ambition lives awake;
Affecting greatness by that temporal Pow'r,
Which in all else he studies to devour:

547.

Deposing kings, as hereticks that leave her,
And poizing of her own kings in such manner,
As of supremacy none shall bereave her,
But march as soldiers underneath her banner,
And all her armies, both of war and faction,
Wage at their charge, to serve the Church in action.

548.

So that to let her seminaries spread

Within the bowels of a soveraign State,
Or leave her enemies abandonèd,
By force or secret practice unto fate;
Were to let friends decrease, and factions grow,
As still they do by neuters' overthrow.

549.

Nor let this falacy of her declination
Perswade, that with her strength, her ends are chang'd;
Since pride had never such an elevation,
As when aspiring Superstition rang'd;
Which sin was at the first the angels' fall,
And in the outward Church, since natural.

550.

Whereby she still unform'd lives, till a head
Supream she finds, or to her self makes many;
A body such as must be governèd,
Within it self, not subject unto any,
And in each minute of her nature swels,
Even with that pride, wherewith the whole excels.

551.

So as this flesh-born Church-supremacy,
Whether form'd in monarchal Government,

Or State-aristocratical it be,
With less then all can never be content;
But by the sophistries of wit and will,
Strive ever to be head of good and ill.

552.

Therefore I say, let not this gathering mass
Of Superstition—whose true base is fear—
Lurk, and by false faith, bring her ends to pass,
Or to the World such threatning ensignes bear,
As Time will shew are form'd to serve the turn,
Of other kings, that in her lust do burn.

553.

But let kings rather watch this governess,
That by her wisdom, they may fashion[1] theirs,
When to be merciful, when merciless;
Time having taught her, to use hopes and fears,
Power and Wit, that each may help her ends,
Which are to have all slaves; no foes, no friends.

554.

Therefore when she lets Inquisitions raign,
Pow'rs, laws, as freely should their process use;
When by Confession she seeks to maintain,

[1] Southey misprints 'form'. G.

That mapp of secrets which she doth abuse ;
Then must kings by all tryals gage[1] her nest,
So as her birds may neither hatch nor rest.

555.

Nor must we give her ear when she propounds
Freedom of conscience, that yields others' none ;
But work against her on the same strict ground,
Whereby she would bind strangers to her own,
Suffring no freedom in dispute, or book,
But such as her false discipline doth brook :[2]

556.

For if she conscience plead, the like do we,
And so in Faith the same religious bands ;
If she doth therein claim supremacy ;
Soveraignty—which under no Pow'r stands—
Pleads that we may deal so with forraign pow'rs,
Here or abroad, as they shall deal with ours.

557.

Lastly, when she, and her sword-bearers strive
In peace, war, league, or any combination,
By fall of other princes' States to thrive,
We must of force break that association ;

---

[1] = gauge. G. [2] Accept. G.

And if they arm in clouds, then arme so too,
And countermine by doing as they do.

558.

Or else she by her contracts without charge
As well as war, will still divide in gain;
Where kings their crowns, she there her cells enlarge,
And bring her harvest home with others' pain;
Making poor princes by her dreams of spirit,
Like slaves, that onely for their lord can merit.

559.

Trust not their Church with her scope infinite,
As king-ships in this world, more in the other;
Here to seem greater then refinèd right,
There both of grace and innocence a mother;
For God, a pope; for angels, cardinals;
A Church more over-built then Babel's walls.

560.

An outward Church, that must stand as it grew,
By force, craft, rapine, and hypocrisie;
An earthly faith, even every day made new;
Built on the base of one's supremacy;
A pride born of that angels' pride that fell:
Prising for Peter's pence, Heav'n, Purgatory, Hell.

561.

Trust not this miter which forgiveth none,
But damns all souls that be not of her creeds,
Makes all saints idols, to adorn her throne,
And reaps vast wealth from superstitious seeds;
For must not she with wet or burnt wings fall,
Which soars above Him that created all?

562.

Suffer not men of this divine profession,
Which should be great within, religious, true,
As heralds sent by God to work progression
From sin to grace, and make the 'old man new';
Let them not with the world's moralities,
Think to hold up their doctrine with the wise.

563.

Let them not fall into those common moulds
Of frail humanity, which scandal give;
From God they must take notice what they should;
Men watch not what they speak, but how they live;
Malice soon pierceth Pomp's mortality,
The sin derides her own hypocrisie.

564.

The clergies' praise, when they from pulpit come,

Is to keep that decorum in their lives,
Which wall them in, from each unreverend doom
Of libertines, who to deface them strive:
For messengers of Heav'n must still appear,
As if that Heav'n, not Earth, were to them deer.

565.

From Abbies let them not hope to uphold
Excess and riot by the people's voice;
Where good and ill alike are cheaply sold,
And frail mankind confounded in his choice.
Good life, and doctrine, are both light and food
To starve the ill, yet doe the chosen good.

566.

Now though this council seem to fit a king,
And not the steep excess of Tyranny:
Yet beams and bodies being divers things,
Finely in shadows may resemblèd be;
Whence in the outward varying forme of things,
Tyrants may well use rules set down for kings.

567.

Let not kings therefore on this old foundation
Fear to continue taxe to Hazard paid,

Since war and crowns consist[1] by reputation,
Which must not eas'ly from their course be sway'd
Either by want of ship, or sail, or shroud,
Unless kings will loose tides, for every cloud.

568.

But rather follow Mars in forrain parts,
Who ever friends the undertaking spirit,
With honor, hope of spoil, and all those arts,
Which still as treasure are reserv'd for merit;
Nor be these helps in minutes[2] understood,
Which in the mass, make undertakings good.

569.

Since here admit the worst that threatens[3] come,
And causeless Fortune like herself should raign,
How can the assistance yet find heavy doom,
Whose chance at home is to be cast again?
And by their neighbor's stumbling, not their fall,
Each monarch taught to have an eye to all.

---

[1] Latin *consistere:* to exist together: = stand G.

[2] = small things, or the transition-form of our *minutia.* G.

[3] = Admit [that] the worst that threatens [should] come, or suppose the worst comes to the worst. G.

570.

Nay, grant these mutual succors should at length
Engage our own estates into a war;
Yet can they never take us in their strength,
Who in their growings interrupted are,
And to assail those Pow'rs which wounded come,
Doth certainly pronounce them fatal doom.

571.

Besides, it often falls out in distress,
Where States by want exhausted are and spent;
That change of vices give their wounds redress,
And qualify the common discontent
In people, who when Peace is turn'd to War,
Find subsidies no taxes, but revenues are.

572.

Whereby disease grows cure unto diseases,
A wisdom proper to humanity;
For while in something, she her self ore-peazes,[1]
Yet stands by equal ballanc't vanity,
And unto chance things present sacrificing,
Finds from those ashes better times arising.

---

[1] Over-estimates. G.

573.

And so we see in muddy Northern air,
Winds, thunders, storms,—Earth's present misery—
Yet instantly makes foul horisons fair;
So doth the War and her impiety
Purge the imposthum'd[1] humors of a Peace,
Which oft else makes good government decrease.

574.

Only let princes that will martial be,
Reform that common stainèd discipline,
Which is the base of unprosperity,
Sin against nature, chance, and Pow'r divine,
Wherein I fear the Turk doth us excell.
They keeping deeds, we words of doing well.

575.

Again, for those which unto War are bent,
To right their wrongs, revenge themselves, or gain,
How brave, advantageous an instrument
A well-fram'd Navy is to entertain;
Let them be judge who understand how sea
For her's,—like air,—doth everywhere make way.

---

[1] Southey misprints 'imposhum'd'.

576.

For whatsoever odds in man or beast
Between the Christian and the Turk there be,
By delicacy, hardness, industry or rest,
Our fatal discord, or their unity;
Yet we that thus on disadvantage stand,
Stand fast, because he makes his wars by land.

577.

Whereas each man of understanding spirit
Knows well, that if this mighty tyrant would
Have chang'd his war, and so his ways of merit,
From land, and made the waving ocean, mould
Of all his expeditions undertaken,
The Christian Churches had long since been shaken.

578.

Nay in the Indian's East and West again,
What great things men may with sea-forces do,
Not only in suppressing of the main,
But in possessing land and cities too,
By undertakings of a maiden Queen,[1]
May as in models to the world be seen.

---

[1] Queen Elizabeth. B.

579.

So as since seas be mothers unto Fame,
Whose bravest feathers martial actions be;
And mother-like, since their breasts nurse that name
Which they beget by strange prosperity;
Let those kings seek the secret of that womb,
That will of riches, right and wrong, give doom.

The Excellency of Monarchy compared with Aristocracy.

SECT. XIII.

580.

NOW, if the tediousness of mortal days,
—Which suffers no man in his state content—
Will seek a change in all things which displease,
Then can no real form be permanent;
Vain lust and novelty will never rest,
Pleasing diseasèd natures ever best.

581.

Yet first let these light spirits that love change,
Consider whence and whether they would go;
Lest while they grow bewitcht with what is strange,
They think that happiness, which is not so;
And by affecting[1] mortal heavens here,
Hold only those things which they have not, dear.

---

[1] Aiming at, as before. G.

582.

Doleful Alcyon,[1] had perchance, good cause
Both to suspect the frauds of men and beasts;
Yet over-acting passion makes ill laws,
For to avoid which fear, she built her nest
Upon the ocean's shoar, where storm and wind
Since tyrannise both her and all her kind.

583.

From like grounds, do not thoughts impatient,
Which work new fangledness in people's minds,
And have their proper lord in Discontent,
By such dislike of every air they find,
While they would run from shadows that offend,
Like rowling stones change place, but never mend!

584.

For if men will according to the name,
Conceive th' aristocratical estates
Of Government, to be the perfect frame,
And number able to give proper rates
To lavish humours, then[2] a monarch can;
What is this but new fangledness in man?

---

[1] Alcyone: the king fisher. (Ovid, *Met.* xi. 410 et *seqq* and Virgil, Georg. i. 399. G

[2] Than, as before. G.

585.

And let no man examine this by book,
As States stand painted, or enamel'd there ;
But rather upon life then[1] pictures look.
Where practice sees what every State can bear ;
And where the people's good, the wealth of realms[2]
Shew cleerly what forms spread forth sweetest beams.

586.

Which view will prove how speciously soever
These many heads enter with glorious stile
Of conquering worthies, yet they have never
Long born those titles, but within a while
Been forc't to change their many heads to one ;
As blest by inequalities alone.

587.

For instance of which strange inconstancy,
Take Rome, that sublime senators' estate ;
Did she not first the son's iniquity
Plague in the aged guiltless father's fate ?

---

[1] *Ibid.* G.

[2] Pronounced 'reams', as before. G.

And then her monarch into consuls throw,
Under which yet Rome did an empress grow ?

588.

Soon after she erects the State of Ten,
And even before th' ungrateful memory
Of Appius Claudius buried was with men,
She still affecting change of policy,
Carelessly left her Government in trust,
For some years, to her martial Tribunes' lust.

589.

Lastly, as if in that unconstant wit
They had concluded to dissolve the frame
Of their Republick, by oft changing it;
To such descent of anarchy they came,
As in five years they governours had none,
But stood upright by hap of Time alone.[1]

590.

For had there any undertaking State
Assail'd them then, this France[2] wherein they stood
'Twixt life and death, must needs have given fate
To wandring humours stain'd with native blood,

---

[1] Livius lib. 2. B. [2] Qu: frame? Cf. st. 630 and 633. G.

And by the factious government of Three,
Have freed her slaves to bring in Tyranny.

591.

Thus sick, and fully ripe for cure or death,
Rome did enforce a Cæsar of her own,
To loose his honour or to break his faith;
Her State alike being each way overthrown;
Wherein yet he that brought back monarchy,
Err'd less then he that set the people free.[1]

592.

For after Tarquin, though Rome stood entire,
Yet fell she into many-headed Pow'r;
By which like straws, light people set on fire,
Did by Confusion, which waits to devour,
Yet raise again that brave monarchal State;
As souls well organ'd to be fortunate.

593.

Besides in Athens, what were Codrus' merits
That after him they should endure no king?
Was it not he that sacrific'd his spirits,
To qualifie Apollo's threatening?

---

[1] Velleius Paterculus, lib, 2. B.

In which work this captiv'd unthankfulness,
Which stainèd her, soon made her fortune less.

594.

Again, what comfort, or true estimation
Can active vertue either take or give,
Where many heads have power of creation?
Or wherein can these brave enticements live,
Which raise exorbitant aspiring merit:
Since many judges never have one spirit?

595.

Must not laws there, and ordinances be
Like oracles, meer[1] abstract and ambiguous,
Fit for discourse, or books, not policy,
All practice dull, delaying, or litigious?
Man's justice seldom cleer and never wise,
As seeing right or wrong with Chance's eyes?

596.

What symptome is besides so dangerous
To mortal orders,—apt to be diseas'd—
As faction, on whose crisis ominous
Those States depend, when many must be pleas'd,
And where unequals are by government,
With equal measure forc't to be content.

[1] Absolute. G.

597.

For as to make all rulers of estate
Alike wise, honest, rich, and honorable,
A work is hardly possible to Fate;
So—without disproportion—who is able
True worth and Inequalitie's ambition,
To please with equal ballancèd condition?

598.

Out of which, swallowed, Discontentment grows:
That monster which then most the publick spoils,
When to the world it best pretences shews;
And as with faction, emulation, broils,
These many heads oft Civil War invite,
So against forraign force they worse unite.

599.

Under three Leaders did not Athens wain
Her right to Samos, and her reputation?
As she before at Siracuse did stain
Her glory, and let fall her estimation,
Under the guide of Alcibiades
Joyn'd with stern Nicias, faint Demosthenese.[1]

---

[1] Charo. Timotheus. Iphicrates. Emil. Prob. in vita Timothei, Iustin. lib. 4. B.

600.

Whence the Athenian orator[1] aver'd,
That their State never prosperèd in War,
But when all pow'r was upon one confer'd ;
And when again was Rome engag'd so far,
As under Canna's many-headed flight;
Where chance and mischance had pow'r infinite.

601.

Besides, as mild streams in an ocean sea
Loose both their current, sweetness, and their name:
So here the best men must be sent away
By ostracisme, to qualifie their fame,
As for this State too great, which feareth Worth ;
Knowing that it still monarchy brings forth.

602.

For is it not to them of banishment
Sufficient ground to be reputed just ?
What other cause was there of discontent
'Gainst Aristides, but his worth's mistrust ?
How us'd they him that conquer'd Marathon ?
Or him, who Xerxes' host had overthrown ?

---

[1] Isocrates in nicoles. B. [προς Νικοκλέα. G.]
[2] Terentius, Varro, Paulus Emilius. Livius. B.

603.

Rome shew'd her greatness when she did subdue
Africk and Carthage, yet who will observe
How little she thought to the Scipios due,
Or from Camillus how soon she did swerve,
Shall see, in Aristocracies, the fate
Of noble actions is the people's hate.

604.

Besides, where this name 'Publick shall have pow'r
To bind reward with wreath'd frugality;
Where sad stil'd Justice shall mankind devour,
Thorough a bloody stern severity;
Must not these glorious stiles of Common-weal,
Wound even that worth wherewith it should deal?

605.

Faction again is ever soonest made,
Where many heads have part; and councils known
There soonest are, where men with many trade;
Besides alliance here binds not her own;
Nor adds unto the 'Publick any might:
Which makes their league, their love, their malice slight.

606.

Lastly our finite natures do not love
That infinite of multiplicity :
Our hopes, affections, fears, which ever move,
Can neither fixt, nor yet well govern'd be,
Where idle, busie rulers, with a breath,
Give doom of honor, grace, shame, life, or death.

607.

Thus is mankind, in numerous estates
Wantonly discontent with liberty,
Where equals give and take unequal rates,
Moulding for good and bad one destiny :
Whence Athens swaying to Democracy,
For ever changing her archontes[1] be.

608.

And as ill luck makes man of man despair,
And thence appeal a Supreme Soveraign,
So grows adversity the people's stair,
Whereby they clime to monarchy again :
What wants dictator but the name of king,
Being as soveraign else in every thing ?

[1] Archon, the chief magistrate after abolition of Monarchy. G.

609.

So as if Aristocracies will claim
To be the best of humane Government,
Why do they from their magistrates disclaim,
As in extremities still impotent ?
Since who in storms the fittest pilots be,
Are ablest sure to guide prosperity.

The Excellency of Monarchy compared with Democracy.

SECT. XIV.

610.

NOW, if the best, and choicest Government
Of many heads, be in her nature this;
How can the Democratical content,
Where that blind multitude chief master is?
And where besides all these forespoken fates,
The most, and worst sort govern all estates?

611.

Since as those persons usually do haunt
The market places, which at home have least;
So here those spirits most intrude and vaunt
To do the business of this common beast,
That have no other means to vent their ill,
Then by transforming real things to will.

612.

Besides, this equal stil'd Democracy
Lets fall men's minds, and makes their manners base;
Learning and all arts of civility,

Which add both unto nature, and to place,
It doth eclipse, as death to that estate;
Wherein not worth, but idle wealth gives fate.

613.

Nay, where religion, God, and humane laws,
No other use, or honor, can expect
Then to serve idle Libertie's applause,
As painted toys, which multitudes affect;
Who judging all things, while they nothing know,
Lawless and godless are, and would live so.

614.

Therefore if any to protect this State,
Alledge imperial Rome grew great by it;
And Athens likewise far more fortunate,
As raising types up both of worth and wit;
Such as no monarchy can parallel,
In the rare ways of greatnes doing well:

615.

Or if again, to make good this position,
Any averr that Rome's first monarchy,
For lack of courage, soon chang'd her condition
Of union, into multiplicity;

Whence Germans over France, and Goths in
Spain,
In Africk Saracens, and Turks in Asia raign.

616.

I answer first, that those subduing prides
—Whereof the people boast—were to the hand
Form'd, by the three preceding monarch tides,
And what succeeded—if exactly scan'd—
But imitation was of their brave deeds,
Who, but their own worth no example needs.

617.

For did not their Tarquinus, ere he fell,
Conquer the Latine and the Sabine nation,
Making their martial discipline excel,
And so increase their strength by reputation?
Out of which active legionary worth,
That city brought her after-conquests forth.

618.

But be this as it may, I deny
Either the Empire's growth or consummation
To be the work of Rome's Democracy;
Since between her first Cæsar's domination,
And Tarquin, her soveraignity was mixt,
Of one, few, many; waving, never fixt.

619.

As consuls, senate, or the people's might ;
The first a pow'r which Rome did conquer by,
The second set her publick councils right,
The last approve, increase or qualifie
Pain, and rewards of good or evil deeds ;
Two beams of Justice, weighing out good speed.

620.

Whence you may easily pregnant reasons draw,
To attribute the glory of old Rome
Unto the monarch part, which held in awe
The conquer'd world ; and not the people's doome :
Proportion from the great world to the small,
Shewing, with many limbs, one head rules all.

621.

What but the people's mutinous conventions
Under the factious tribunes, scatterèd
Rome's publick patrimonie ? and with dissentions
Her wise opposing Senate threatnèd,
By their Agrarian laws : engines of wrong,
Dispersing laws which to the State belong ?[1]

---

[1] Cic. de lege Agraria contra Rutilium. B.

622.

Besides, as who at home ill husbands be,
Seldome make dainty to stretch out their hand
Into their neighbor's harmless treasury:
So did it with these bankrupt people stand;
Who sent their armies out by force and stealth,
To bring them home the king of Cyprus' wealth.[1]

623.

Allur'd by no pretence of wrong or right,
But only that he must not be their friend,
Whose wealth was reckonèd so indefinite;
Not caring how they get or what they spend;
But making good their ill by confidence:
A worth of more use there, then innocence.

624.

Lastly, where they had many times proclaim'd
Against the Mamertines their just offence;
Yet came they to their succor, and disclaim'd
With Carthage their long-liv'd intelligence;
Whence the first Punick quarrel did proceed,
And had the fates been just, with far worse speed.

---

[1] Ptolomœus, Florus, lib. 3. B.

[2] Polybius lib. 1. B.

625.

Wherein the Senate nobly did oppose
This heady[1] people's incivility;
As besides faith, in wisdom loath to loose
The rich returns of that affinity:
Publick respect, and shame wrought in the one,
Who saw that ill deeds seldom pass alone.

626.

Whereas the people, which no notice take
Of these small minutes of humanity,
But ways above these thin-lin'd duties make,
Thinking they rule not, that restrainèd be;
With ravening[2] and irregular excess,
Stain good and ill to serve their wantonness.

627.

Now for the Empire's final overthrow,
Falsly imputed to the monarchy;
Who doth not by the course of Nature know,
That periods in the growth of all States be
Ordain'd? Which no Republick can exceed;
For making each form self-diseases breed.

---

[1] Headstrong, restive. Mr. W. A. Wright's Bible Word Book, *s. v.* as before. G.

[2] Rapacious. *Ibid.* G.

628.

Or if too abstract this reply appears :
Forget not how the monarchy preserv'd
Rome for a thousand and seaven hundred years :
Part of her glory her first kings deserv'd :[1]
The rest by Cæsars in successive raign,
Till Mahomet[2] the second made her wain.

629.

Where on the other side Democracy
Did in few ages rise and fall again ;
There being but four hundred sixty three
Years, between Cæsar's and Tarquinius' raign ;
In which time Rome corrupted her self so,
As change she must or suffer overthrow.

630.

But that indeed which brake the Empire's frame
Was floating swarms and mighty inundations
Of rude Barbarians, which from Scythia came,
To traffick vices with all civil Nations ;
Nor can that be peculiar stain to Rome,
Which of all other Empires was the doom.

---

[1] 245 years. B.

[2] He took Constantinople Anno Dom. 1453. B.

631.

Attyla, Alarick, Omar, Tamerlane
Being in martial wealth rais'd up as high,
As he that most unto the empire wan,
And against whom old Rome's democracy
Even in her pride must have made such retreat,
As would have shew'd at home she was not great.

632.

Such as she did at Allia of old,
When naked Gauls both took and burnt the town;
Or Italy from Spartacus the bold,
When by a slave their eagles were thrown down;[1]
So that the monarch fell by outward fate,
Whereas the people's own faults shak't their State.

633.

Nor do I doubt but that the Roman frame
Of monarchy might have outlasted all
The governments of whatsoever name,
But that excess did make her old age fall
Into a gulf, whose two streams soon devour
The rights and majesty of real Pow'r.

---

[1] Livy. lib 5. Plutarch in vita Camilli. B.

634.

The first was their tumultuous election
Of Cæsars, which did many times make way
To civil broils, disorder, and defection;
Whence she became to forreiners a prey:
This pow'r of choice making the soldiers know,
Their head above had yet a head below.

635.

The second was their lack of crown demesne,
By which the Emperours still forcèd were
In publick and self-indigence to strain
Laws, by men's voices; men, by hope and fear;
Who saw their wealths and freedom both in one,
By this course of exactions overthrown.

636.

And yet, in this disease of monarch's state,
I dare avow their breed of home-born spirits
To have been active, worthy, fortunate,
Above Democracies in every merit;
For instance, whom can that State parallel
With Trajan in the pow'r of doing well?[1]

---

[1] *It was a proverb amongst them,*
Felicior Augusto, melior Trajano. B.

637.

Who with Augustus in felicity?
With Constantine in true magnificence?
With Marcus can in wisdom ballanc't be?
Or with good Anthony in innocence?
Julian in learning? Julius in worth?
That ever yet Democracy brought forth?

638.

For tribunes the champions they can boast,
An hetoroclite magistrate, devis'd
Without rule, to have all rules by him lost,
Religion scorn'd, Law's duty tyrannis'd;
A fiery spark, which lacking forrain stuff,
At home finds fuel to make blaze enough.

639.

So as if Chilo truly call'd those States
The best, which most unto their laws do give,
And kept their demagogues at humblest rates,
Then this conclusion ratified must live:
Democracies are most unnatural,
Where real things with humours rise and fall.

640.

Whence I conclude, that since Democracy
In her craz'd moulds great empires cannot cast,

Of force, these frail confusèd policies,
Which cannot breed States, can make no State last;
But as the viper doth, must tear the womb
Of monarchy, whence her foundations come.

The Excellency of Monarchy compared with Aristocracy and Democracy joyntly.

SECT. XV.

641.

NOW, though I know our books are fill'd with praise
Of good men's vertues, freedoms popular;
Yet he that will not audit words, but ways,
And over-look the dreams of Time with care
In smart succession: he shall cleerly find
No long liv'd State hath been of either kind.

642.

For whatsoever stile these men affect
Of OPTIMATES, or of DEMOCRACY,
Their courses basely practice, and effect
A servile OLIGARCHAL TYRANNY;
Aswell in laws as in establishment:
Like ill mixt humours, never well content.

643.

So that such onely have escap't mischance,
As luckily, by publick opposition,

To ballance consuls, tribunes did advance;
Or by a more refinèd composition,
Have rais'd—like Venice—some well bounded Duke,
Their self-grown senators to overlook:

644.

So managing the whole in every part,
As these vast bodies valetudinary,
May, in the native feavers of the heart,
Yet some degrees of good complexion[1] carry;
And while they keep the forrain foes at rest,
Win time, their[2] own confusion to digest.

645.

Besides, if either of these States do choose
Their magistrates, or officers by lot,
And chance instead of worth and knowledge use;
What strange confusions then beget they not?
So that no wise man will himself commit,
Much less wise State to be dispos'd by it.

646.

Again, if they by suffrages elect,
Then, what scope that doth unto practice give;

---

[1] Temperament, as before. G.

[2] Misprinted 'thier'. G.

The old *comitia*, and the new erect
Conclave of Rome, pregnant examples live ;
To shew Worth there must be abandonèd,
Where real grounds are passion-governèd.

647.

Nay more, let us consider if it be
Easie at once of good men to find many ;
Since we with odds of birth and breeding see,
Even among kings, how rarely Time yields any
That out of conscience, or for Countrey's sake
Will hazard, care, restrain or undertake ?

648.

But grant such may be found, yet States thus peaz'd
Must of necessity—as fortune-bound—
Either by princes have the ballance rais'd,
Or loose to undertaking princes' ground :
In which the thanks they offer to a crown
Is often thankless mines to pull it down,

649.

And foolishly ; since union contains
All native strengths of soveraignity ;
As bearing over Nature meekest rains ;
Whereby all other forms of policy

Must either freely yield to her subjection,
Or else at least crave under it protection.

650.

Whence to conclude, since in this abstract view
Of these estates, the multiplicity
Proves apt to over-wrest, or loose their due
As onely true friends to extremity;
Can mankind under any soveraign
Hope to find rest, but in a monarch's raign?

651.

Out of which ground, the poet, making fates,
Hath registred three thousand deities,
The least of whose powers govern'd many States,
And yet acknowledg'd Jove's supremacy:
A work of supernatural succession,
Deriv'd from God: heads of the first impression.

652.

Again, who looks down from these chrystal spheres,
To view the ocean where Jove's brother raigns;
Shall he not find the water Nereid's[1] there
In office subaltern, not soveraign?

[1] Note apostrophe for plural, as before. G.

Yet us'd to stirre, or calm the ocean's race,
As royalties of his three-forkèd mace.

653.

Whence, if these lively images prove true,
It must be alike true, that the best times priz'd
That old monarchal form, before the new
Confusèd moulds, by Error since devis'd:
For else their types of ruling providence,
Absurdly, will seem far excell'd by Sence.

654.

Let man then weigh, whether this strange excess
Follow the nature of each mortal frame
As time-born, with her to grow more or less;
And like her never to remain the same?
Or whether this relaxe or over-bent,
Spring from the subject or the Government?

655.

And he shall find the ground of change to be
A wandering and unmeasurèd affection
Of pow'r to bind, and people to be free;
Not in the laws, church-rites, or their connexion,
But practice meerly to raise, or keep down
Crowns by the people, people by the crown.

656.

In which misprision, while each doth suppress,
That true relation, by which States subsist,
They first loose names, then make their natures less,
Growing deform'd, by forming what they list:
For they that still cast old foundations new,
Make many shapes, but never any true.

657.

And as we do in humane bodies see,
Where Reason raigns in chief, not the affection,
Order is great, not wanton Liberty;
Man to himself, and others' a direction;
Where if too much abstracted or let fall,
The tares of passion there run over all.

658.

So when fall away from monarchy
Whether it be to States of few or more,
Change leads them neerer unto anarchy
By divers minutes then[1] they were before;
Since unity divided into many,
Begets confusion: never friend to any.

---

[1] Than, as often before. G.

659.

For in each kind of humane government,
Where custome, laws, or ancient constitutions
Serve as true scales, to weigh out Pow'r's intent,
Honour and wealth there find no diminutions;
But where Will raigns, and over-leaps those bounds
Which can establish, but that which confounds?

663.

Therefore to end this point if any one
—According to our natures—fond of new,
Into more rulers would translate a throne,
Let him at home this paradox find true;
Or else yield, that unfit for publick states,
Which in his private every creature hates.

661.

Thus have we view'd the spirit of Government,
Shew'd both her ends and errors in some kinds,
And by comparing yet made excellent
This brave Imperial Monarchy of minds;
Not making tyrants gods to unmake kings
With flattering air for over-soaring wings.

662.

And though the ways of wit be infinite,

Not to be cast in any mould or art,
Like shadows, changing shape with every light,
Ever and never, still the same in part;
Yet by this model, wiser men may see,
That there is choice even in the vanity.

663.

And forms establisht, which must be obey'd
As levels[1] for the world to guide her own
Foundations, against anarchy well laid,
Whose being is but being's overthrown;[2]
Where thrones—as mortal shrines—with mortal fear
Must be ador'd and worshipt everywhere.

664.

Therefore I thus conclude this fruitless dream,
That if the body have imperfect features,
Or swim—like Æsop's wife—against the stream;
Each age must adde to all the works of creatures,
And perfect things unperfectly begun;
Or else in vain, sure, I have roul'd this tun.

---

[1] Measures, as before explained. G.

[2] Overthrow: above for rhyme simply. G.

Finis.

A Treatise of Religion.

Note.

The "Treatise of Religion" forms the closing portion of the "Remaines" (pp. 177—205). It has been conjectured that it was intended to occupy the cancelled pages (3—22) of the folio of 1633: but this is probably inaccurate. See our Prefatory Note, and an Appendix to our Memorial-Introduction for details on this. G.

A Treatise of Religion.

1.

WHAT make these many laws, these rains[1] of Pow'r
Wherewith mankind thus fetter'd is and bound;
These divers worships, which men's souls deflow'r;
Nature and God, with novelty confound?
'Tis ignorance, Sin, Infidelity,
By which we fall'n from our creation be.

2.

What is the chain which draws us back again,
And lifts man up unto his first creation?
Nothing in him his own heart can restrain,
His reason lives a captive to temptation;
Example is corrupt, precepts are mixt,
All fleshly knowledge frail, and never fixt.

[1] Reins. G.

3.

It is a light, a gift, a grace inspir'd,
A spark of pow'r, a goodness of the Good;
Desire in him, that never is desir'd;
An unity, where desolation stood;
In us not of us, a spirit not of earth,
Fashioning[1] the mortal to immortal birth.

4.

His image that first made us in perfection,
From angels differing most in time and place:
They fell by pride, and we by their infection;
Their doom is past, we yet stand under grace;
They would be gods, we would their evil know;
Man finds a Christ, these angels did not so.

5.

Sence of this God, by fear, the sensual have,
Distressèd Nature, crying unto Grace;
For soveraign Reason then becomes a slave,
And yields to servile Sence her soveraign place,
When more or other she affects to be;
Then[2] seat or shrine of this eternity.

---

[1] Southey misprints 'fashoning.' G.

[2] Than, as before. G.

6.

Yea, prince of Earth, let man assume to be,
Nay more, of man, let man himself be God ;
Yet without God, a slave of slaves is he ;
To others, wonder ; to himself, a rod ;
Restless despair, desire, and desolation ;
The more secure, the more abomination.

7.

Then by affecting pow'r, we cannot know Him ;
By knowing all things else, we know Him less ;
Nature contains Him not, Art cannot show Him ;
Opinions, idols and not God, express.
Without, in pow'r, we see Him everywhere ;
Within, we rest not, till we find Him there.[1]

8.

Then seek we must : that course is natural,
For ownèd souls to find their owner out ;
Our free remorses, when our natures fall ;
When we do well, our hearts made free from doubt;

[1] A reminiscence of St. Augustine's " O Lord ! Thou hast made us for Thyself, and our souls are restless till they rest in Thee" : one of the *memorabilia* of all Literature. G.

Prove service due, to One Omnipotence;
And Nature, of Religion to have sence.

9.

Questions again, which in our hearts arise,
—Since loving knowledge, not humility—
Though they be curious, godless, and unwise,
Yet prove our nature feels a Deity;
For if these strifes rose out of other grounds,
Man were to God, as deafness is to sounds.

10.

Religion thus we naturally profess;
Knowledge of God is likewise universal;
Which divers nations diversly express,
For Truth, Pow'r, Goodness, men do worship all;
Duties to parent, child, time, men and place,
All known by Nature, but observ'd by Grace.

11.

And that these are no positive made laws,
Appears in this, since no consent of Nations,
No custome, time, or any other cause
Can unto Vice give Vertue's estimation,
Or root out those impressions from our hearts,
Which God by Nature unto man imparts,

12.

Yea, these impressions are so finely fixt
In understanding, and the conscience too,
That if our nature were not strangely mixt,
But what we knew it could as easily do,
Men should,—even by this spirit—in flesh and blood
Grow happily, adorers of the Good.

13.

But there remains such natural corruption
In all our pow'rs, even from our parents' seed,
As to the good gives native interruption;
Sence stains affection, that will, and will deed;
So that what's good in us, and others too
We praise; but what is evil, that we do.

14.

Our knowledge thus corrupted in our lives,
Serves to convince our consciences within;
Which sentence of record with self-love strives,
Leads us for rest, and remedy of sin,
To seek God and Religion from without,
And free this condemnation which we doubt.

15.

Yet in this strife, this natural remorse,
If we could bend the force of pow'r and wit
To work upon the heart, and make divorce
There from the evil which perverteth it;
In judgement of the truth we should not doubt,
Good life should find a good RELIGION out.

16.

But our infirmity which cannot brook
This strong, intestine, and rebellious war
In wit and our affections, makes us look
For such RELIGIONS as there imag'd are;
Hence grow these many worships, gods and sects
Wherewith man's error all the world infects.

17.

For when the conscience this Religion fashions
In blind affections, there it straight begets
Gross superstition; when in witty[1] passions
It moulded is, a luster there it sets
On hearts prophane, by politick pretence,
Both buying shadows with the soul's expence.

---

[1] Ingenious, as before = in adaptation to. G.

18.

For they, God's true Religion—which a state
And being is, not taken on, but in—
To bottomless hypocrisie translate;
The superstitious doth with fear begin,
And so deceiv'd, deceives and under-rates
His God, and makes an idol of his sin:
The politick, with craft inthralls mankind,
And makes his body sacrifice his mind.

19.

Both, in ourselves, make us seek out a God,
Both take self-love and fear, for scale and measure;
They both, become their own and others' rod;
The one takes care, the other wrong for pleasure;
As many minds, as many Gods they make;
Men easily change all they easily take.

20.

This superstitious ignorance and fear
Is false Religion, offring sacred things
Either to whom it should not, or elsewhere:
The manner to the Godhead scandal brings;
It fears sea, Earth, skie, silence, darkness, light,
And in the weak soul still hath greatest might.

21.

Which natural disease of mortal wit,
Begets our magick, and our star-divines ;
Wizards, impostors, visions, stand by it ;
For what Fear comprehends not, it enclines
To make a God, whose nature it believes,
Much more enclin'd to punish, then relieve.

22.

The reason is, when Fear's dim eyes look in,
They guilt discern ; when upwards, Justice there
Reflects self-horror back upon the sin,
Where outward dangers threaten every where :
Flesh the foundation is, fancy the work,
Where rak'd up and unquencht, the evils lurk.

23.

For Fear, whose motion still it self improves
Hopes not for grace, but prays to shun the rod ;
Not to do ill more then do well it loves ;
Fashions[1] God unto man, not man to God :
And to that Deity, gives all without,
Of which within it lives and dies in doubt.

---

[1] Southey again misprints 'fashons'. G.

24.

The other branch is meer Hypocrisie :
The world's Religion, born of wit and lust ;
All which like hunters follow things that flie,[1]
And still beyond things found, find something must ;
As God is boundless, endless, infinite :
So seem these idols to the Hypocrite.

25.

Wit there is priest, who sacrifice doth make
Of all in Heaven and Earth to his desire ;
For from this wit, God and Religion take
As many shapes, as many strange attires
As there be in the world degrees of change,
Which upon humours, time, occasion range.

26.

This teacheth all ambitious magistrates,
On sins unquiet, humors how to build,
Idols of pow'r, to alter Nature's rates,
And by false fears and hopes make people yield
Their hearts for temples unto tyrants' laws,
Which zeal divine, to humane homage draws.

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[2] Southey misprints 'flee'. G.

27.

And when spiritual lights, which Truth expound,
Once to the traffick of man's will descend;
With chains of truth, mankind no more is bound,
Whereby their hearts should up to Heaven ascend;
But vainly link't unto their tongues, which draw
Religion to a fleshly outward awe.

28.

And though this fear['s] a holiness, in shew
Such as no eye of man can pierce the veil;
But least God's houshold, to contempt should grow
Or this hypocrisie not still prevail,
To raise them reverence above their worth,
Blood, inquisition, question, they bring forth.

29.

They draw the sword of Pow'r, against her own,
Or else stir people up, to war their kings:
Both must be their's, or both be overthrown;
They bind man unto words, God binds to things;
For these false heads of Holy Mother see
Scepters to miters, there inferior be.

30.

Among ourselves likewise there many be
That make Religion nothing else but art,
To master others of their own degree,
Enthral the simple well-believing heart;
These have opposers, scorn obedient fools,
Affecting raign by Education's tools.

31.

And though they serve ambitious princes' use,
While they protect them like a nursing father,
And while this common traffick of abuse
Mutually helpeth either side to gather;
Yet mark the end of false combinèd trust,
It will divide, and smart the people must.

32.

For sure in all kinds of Hypocrisie
No bodies yet are found of constant being;
No uniforme, no stable mistery;
No inward nature, but an outward seeming;
No solid truth, no vertue, holiness;
But types of these, which Time makes more or less.

33.

And from these springs, strange inundations flow,
To drown the sea-marks of Humanity,
With massacres, conspiracy, treason, woe,
By sects and schisms, prophaning Deity:
Besides with furies, fiends, Earth, air and hell
They fit, and teach Confusion to rebell.

34.

But as their lives a true God in the Heaven,
So is there true Religion here on Earth:
By nature? No, by grace, not got, but given;
Inspir'd, not taught; from God a second birth:
God dwelleth neer about us, even within,
Working the goodness, censuring the sin.

35.

Such as we are to Him, to us is He;
Without God there was no man ever good;
Divine the Author and the matter be,
Where goodness must be wrought in flesh and blood:
Religion stands not in corrupted things,
But vertues that descend have heavenly wings.

36.

Not heathen vertue, which they do define
To be a state of mind by Custome wrought,
Where sublime Religion seems to refine
Affection, perturbation, every thought,
Unto a *Mens Adepta* ; which work spent
Half of the days to humane Hermes lent.

37.

For in this work, man still rests slave to Fame,
To inward caution, outward form and pride,
With curious watch to guard a rotten frame
Safe undiscover'd from the piercing ey'd,
Assidious Caution tyrannizing there,
To make frail thoughts seem other then they are.

38.

Under this mask, besides, no vice is dead,
But Passion with her counter-passion peaz'd ;
The evil with it self both starv'd and fed,
And in her woes with her vain glories eas'd ;
The work and tools alike, vain flesh and blood,
The labour great, the harvest never good.

39.

For in this painted tomb, let man's own spirit
Really judge, what that estate can be
Which he begetting in himself inherits,
Other then DESERTS of Hypocrisie;
Within the darkning shadows of his wit,
Hiding his stains from all the world but it.

40.

And if the habits of Hypocrisie
With such attention must be kept and wrought;
If to mask vice be such a mistery,
As must with her captivity be sought;
If to be nothing, and yet seem to be,
So nicely be contriv'd and dearly bought,
As vanity must in a phœnix fire
Smother her self to hatch her false desire :

41.

Then judge, poor man—God's image once, 'tis true,
Though now the Devil's, by[1] thine own defection;
Judge man—I say—to make this image new,
And cleanse thy flesh from thy deep-dy'd infection,

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[1] Misprinted 'be'. G.

What miracles must needs be wrought in you,
That thus stand lost in all things but election?
What living death, what strange illumination
Must be inspir'd to this regeneration?

42.

Must not the grace be supernatural,
Which in forgiving gives sanctification;
And from this second chaos of his fall
Forms in man's little world a new creation?
And must not then this twice-born child of Heaven
Bring forth in life this new perfection giv'n?

43.

Then man, pray and obtain; believe and have;
Omnipotence and goodness ready be
To raise us with our Saviour from the grave,
Whence Enoch and Elias livèd free;
He made all good, yet suffrèd sin and death
To raign, and be exil'd again by faith.

44.

Then, till thou find this heavenly change in thee
Of pride to meekness; atheisme to zeal;
Lust to continence; anger to charity;

Thou feel'st of thy election no true seal;
But knowledge only, that poor infancy
Of this poor creature, which must then appeal
Unto the Father for obedience,
Judging his hopes and condemnation thence.

45.

For what else is Religion in mankind,
But raising of God's image there decay'd?
No habit, but a hallowed state of mind
Working in us, that He may be obey'd?
As God by it with us communicates,
So we by duties must with all estates:

46.

With our Creator, by sincere devotion;
With creatures, by observance and affection;
Superiors, by respect of their promotion;
Inferiors, with the nature of protection;
With all, by using all things of our own
For others' good, not to our selves alone.

47.

And ev'n this sacred band, this heavenly breath
In man, his understanding, knowledge is;
Obedience, in his will; in conscience, faith;

Affections, love ; in death it self a bliss ;
In body temp'rance ; life, humility,
Pledge to the mortal of eternity.

48.

Pure onely, where God makes the spirits pure ;
It perfect grows, as imperfection dies :
Built on the rock of truth, that shall endure ;
A spirit of God, that needs must multiply ;
He shews His Glory, cleerly to the best,
Appears in clouds and horror to the rest.

49.

Such was the soul in our first sire's creation,
When man knew God and goodness, not the evil :
Far greater in the Godhead's incarnation,
Where Truth subdu'd the sin that made the devil ;
She still is God's, and God for ever one,
Both unbeliev'd in flesh, and both unknown.

50.

Then, Man, learn by thy fall, to judge of neither ;
Our flesh cannot this spirit comprehend ;
Death and new-birth in us must joyn together ;
Before our nature where it was ascend :
Where man presumes on more then he obeys,
There straight Religion to opinion strays.

51.

Then since 'tis true, we onely here possess
These treasures, but in vessels made of slime;
Religion we by consequence confess
Here to be mixt of base things and sublime,
Of native evil, supernatural good,
Truth, born of God, and error of our blood.

52.

Yet gold we have, though much allay'd[1] with dross,
Refining, never perfect in this life;
Still in our journey, meeting gain and loss;
Rest in our deaths, and until then a strife:
And as our days are want, temptation, error;
So is our zeal, war, prayers, remorse, and terror.

53.

Such is the state of infants in new-birth,
First fed with milk, too weak for stronger food,
Who learn at once to know and doe in Earth
—Both enemy and impotent in good—[2]

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[1] Alloyed, as before. G.

[2] = enemy [to good] and impotent in good. G.

Must feel, that our Christ can of His loose none,
Which unto us makes grace and merit one.

54.

These be true antidotes against despair;
Cradles for weakness; stories for Corruption
To read, how faith begins to make her fair
By cleansing sensual sinks of interruption,
Whereby the throws[1] of many thoughts bring forth
Light, onely shewing man is nothing worth.

55.

For this word faith, implies a state of mind;
Is both our woing, and our marriage-ring;
The first we meet, and last but love we find;
A given hand, that feeleth heavenly things;
And who believe indeed God, Heav'n and Hell
Have past in their chief letts[2] of doing well.

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[1] Throes. G.

[2] Hindrances: see Mr. W. A. Wright's Bible Word-Book *s. v.* "*Politeuphia*", as before, furnishes an excellent example of the former as distinguished from the present meaning of 'let', as follows: "From small errours, not *let* at the beginning, spring oft times great and mightie mischiefes" ('Of Ignorance'). G.

56.

Then let not man too rashly judge this light,
Nor censure[1] God, by his own imperfections;
What can give limit to the infinite,
When He by works will witness our election?
Degrees I grant there be of will and might,
Some to beget, some onely to inherit;
Yet still the conscience must obey the Spirit.

57.

Yea, though God call His labourers every hour
And pay the last and first with heavenly gain;
Though He give faith, beyond the law, and pow'r,
Yet is God's nature where He is to raign;
His word is life, the letter all men's fall,
That it without the Spirit measure shall.

58.

This Sacred Word is the eternal glass,
Where all men's souls behold the face they bring;
Each sees as much as LIFE hath brought to pass;
The letter can shew life no other thing:
The heart's grace works to know what they obey,
All else prophane God, and the world betray.

[1] Judge. G.

59.

This work is God's, even His that works all wonder,
His arm not shor[t]nèd,[1] and His goodness one,
Whose presence breaks sin's middle-wall in sunder,
And doth in flesh deface the evil's throne;
He is all, gives all, hath all where He is,
And in His absence never soul finds bliss.

60.

His Ægypt-wonders here He doth exceed,
For there He mixt with winds, rain, Nature's line:
Now by His Spirit, He doth blast our weeds,
Immediate grace, true miracles divine;
Guides not by fires and meteors, night and day,
His wandring people how to move or stay,

61.

But into sinners' hearts,—shadows of death,—
The saving light of Truth He doth inspire;
Fitteth our humane lungs with heavenly breath,
Our mortal natures with immortal fire;
He draws the camel through the needle's eye,
And makes the chosen['s] flesh die, ere they die.

---

[1] Southey continues the misprint 'shorned' G.

62.

Yet keeps one course with Israel and us,
The flesh still knew His pow'r, and not His grace;
All outward Churches ever know Him thus,
They bear His name, but never run His race;
They know enough for their self-condemnation,
His, doing, know Him,[1] to their own salvation.

63.

His Church invisible are few and good,
The visible, erroneous, evil, many;
Of His, the life and letter understood;
Of these, nor life, nor letter, dwell in any,
These make His Word, sect, schisme, philosophy,
And those from fishers call'd, apostles be.

64.

They do in praying, and still pray in doing;
Faith and obedience are their contemplation;
Like lovers still admiring, ever woing
Their God, that gives this heavenly constellation;
They war that finite infinite of sin;
All arts and pomps, the error wanders in.

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[1] St. John. vii. 17. G.

65.

God is their strength, in Him His are not weak,
That Spirit divine, which life, pow'r, wisdome is,
Works in these new-born babes a life to speak
Things which the world still understands amiss:
The lye hath many tongues, Truth only one,
And who sees blindness, till the sin be gone?

66.

Fools to the world these seem, and yet obey
Princes' oppressions, whereat fools repine;
They know these crowns, these theaters of clay
Derive their earthly pow'r from Pow'r Divine:
Their sufferings are like all things else they do,
Conscience to God, with men a wisdom too.

67.

Book-learning, arts, yea School-divinity,
New types of old Law-munging[1] Pharisies
—Which curst in bondage of the letter be—
They know, they pitty, and would fain advise;
The Goodness moves them, yet the Wisdom stays
From sowing heavenly seed in stony ways.

---

[1] Law-mongering, dabbling, trafficking in the Law. G.

68.

To you they cry, O you, that hold the shrine
As sent by God, yet[1] priests of chance and gain!
Your charge is to distribute things divine;
O do not lie for God, and sin in vain!
Reveal His word, His misteries expound,
Else what He works you travel[2] to confound.

69.

You should be keys to let His will pass out,
Bind[3] sin, and free repentance by His word;
Fear those that scorn, and comfort them that doubt;
What drownèd Pharaoh, still is Israel's forde:
Wisdomè above the truth was Adam's sin;
That veyle which Christ rent off, will you walk in?

70.

Observe faith's nature, in these hallow'd shrines,
Both of the old and perfect testament;
Works be her fruits, her nature is divine,
Infus'd by Him that is omnipotent;

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[1] Southey grossly misprints 'ye'. G.

[2] = travail. G.

[3] Southey again grossly misprints 'blind'. G.

Doe we believe on Him, on Whom we stay not?
Can we believe on Him, Whom we obey not?

71.

His pen left two examples, it is true;
First of His chosen, how he grossly fell;[1]
Then, of the thief born instantly anew;
Vice rais'd to heaven, perfection fall'n to hell;
And of each nature therefore left not many,
Lest hope, or fear, should over-work in any.[2]

72.

Is it not then by warrant from above,
That who gives faith, gives true obedience?
What other medium hath our flesh to prove
That sin with God keeps no intelligence?
Takes this from man the fruits of Christ His death?
No, it translates him into it by faith.

73.

For though God gave such measure of His grace
As might in flesh fulfil the second table,

[1] David. G.

[2] As the Father puts it "He saved one of the thieves that none might despair: but one that none might presume." G.

Yet sin against the first, did quite deface
God's image, and to raise that who is able?
Between the flesh and grace that spiritual fight
Needs Father, Son, and their proceeding Might.

74.

Nay, let us grant, God would enable man,
After his calling, to accomplish all;
From Adam's sin who yet redeem him can,
Or Paul's transgression cleer before his call,
But Christ that comes to none of God's in vain?
The justest need Him; for the worst He is slain.

75.

His life He makes example, where He please
To give His Spirit, which is, to forgive:
What can the flesh assume it self in these,
Since reason dies, before his faith can live?
Who knows God's pow'r, but where He sin removes?
What should restrain the Almighty where He loves?

76.

Besides, who marks God's course from our creation
Down unto Christ, shall by succession see
Bliss of the goodness, Evil's condemnation,

Establisht by unchanging destiny :
The Word is cleer, and needs no explanation,
Onely the council is a mystery ;
Why God commanded more then man could do,
Being all things that He will, and Wisdom too.

77.

Why came our Saviour, if flesh could fulfill
The Law enjoyn'd ? or if it must transgress,
Whence took that Justice this unequal will
To bind them more, to whom He giveth less ?
Here Pow'r indeed to Wisdom must direct,
Else light saves few, and many doth detect.

78.

Strive not then wit, corrupt and disobeying,
To fetch from Pope's stools, Pow'r's commanding thrones,
Doctrines of might, that suffer no denying,
Yet divers, as Earth's tempers in her zones ;
Since Christ's own heard Him, saw Him live and dye
Yet till He rose, knew not the mistery.

79.

Pray then, and think, faith hath her mediation,
Ask for thy self that Spirit which may judge ;

Wait the degrees[1] of thy regeneration ;
Count not without thy God, nor do thou grudge
Limits and bounds of thine illumination ;
But give account of that which God hath given,
Since grace, not merit, with the Law makes even.

80.

And if thou seek'st more light to cleer thy mind,
Search not God's councils in Himself contracted,
But search His written Word where thou shalt find,
That Adam's fall was breach of law enacted ;
By which in stainèd womb the chosen seed
Together with the reprobate did breed.[2]

81.

The one shew'd forth the light which he receiv'd
Fashion'd[3] within him by the Infinite ;
The other serv'd the evil, was deceiv'd,

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[1] Here and before = decrees not 'steps'. G.

[2] Jacob and Esau: but 'reprobate' so far as Esau's eternal welfare went, is a hideous misrepresentation. The same remark holds if Abel and Cain (as in st. 82d.) be intended. G.

[3] Once more Southey misprints 'fashon'd'. G.

And in that which condemn'd him took delight:
Both states partakers of eternity,
In life, or death, as good or ill they be.

82.

Both had one school, one form of education,
Each knew one God, but onely One obey'd,
Where in the odds was spiritual adoration,
And outward rites, which ever have betray'd;
Abel sought God alone, Cain would have more,
Which pride was in the angels judg'd before.

83.

Thus when creation was a fresh tradition,
And miracle the proper ground of faith,
Guiding the sin unto her true physitian,
Yet then—we see—sin multiplyèd death:
For Him that made them, men would not obey;
Idols, and sects ne'r had any other way,

84.

Men would be gods, or earthly giants rather;
Number their strength, and strength their number is;
Their doctrine sin, which as it spreads doth gather
This present world; flesh seeks no other bliss.

As God, by goodness, saves those souls He chooseth,
So Hell condemns those wicked souls it useth.

85.

Now while both Churches livèd thus together
Parted by grace, by miracles united:
The outward worship common was to either,
And both alike by benefits invited:
Yet murmure and obedience prov'd them two,[1]
For while both knew, yet only one would doe.

86.

Thus though by life the Spirit spirits trieth,
So as God's goodness is by His exprest;
Which goodness in the devils ever dieth,
Yet God hath here more latitude imprest:
For unto those who onely bear His name,
He gave such Gentiles as deny'd the same.

87.

But when with idols they prophan'd the Land
Which he gave them, for seeming to adore Him,

[1] Southey again grossly misprints 'too'. G.

When they that held by form, even brake that
band,
And Israel in the outward fail'd before Him;
Then came captivity, that earthly hell,
Planting the Gentiles where His did dwell.

88.

In this Time's womb, this uttermost defection
Of fleshly Israel, came the virgin's seed;
That rightfulness which wrought God's own
election,
And in the flesh fulfill'd the Law indeed:
When doctrine, miracles, benefits prov'd vain:
Then was this Lamb ordainèd to be slain.

89.

Thus by defection from obedience,
Successively both sin and sects have grown;
Religion is a miracle to Sence,
The new-man of the old is never known:
And to those hearts whose gross sins do not die,
God's testaments are meer philosophy.

90.

What latitude this to the world allows,
Those souls in whom God's image was decay'd,
Then know, when they perform such spiritual vows

As underneath our Saviour's cross are laid:
They that receive His wages, bear His arms,
Know onely what avails us, and what harms.

91.

Wherein to take thrones first, as chief in might,
David's we wish, of Salomon's find some,
Not in those wisdoms of the infinite,
But in the rest, which bide more doubtful doom:
Thrones are the world's, how they stand wel with heaven,
Those pow'rs can iudge to whom such grace is given.

92.

Next that, high-priesthood, which the spirit-fall'n Jew
So prized, and erroneously maintain'd,
Ceasèd in Him, Whose sacrifice was due
To all the world, by her defections stain'd:
Small hopes this gives to our cathedral-chairs,
The Spirit onely choosing spiritual heirs.

93.

Again, for such as strive to undermine,
The vanity of Rome's ore-built foundation,

With sin's ambition, under words divine,
Hoping to raise sects from her declination;
O let them know, God is to both alike,
The one He hath, the other He will strike,

94.

And in the world where Pow'r confirms Opinion,
Advantage, disadvantage as they stand;
Rome hath the odds in age and in dominion;
By which the devils all things understand,
The superstition is too worn a womb
To raise a new Church now to equal Rome.

95.

Last, for ourselves, which of that Church would be
Which—though invisible—yet was, is, shall
For ever be the State and treasurie
Of God's elect, which cannot from Him fall:
Arks now we look for none, nor signes to part
Ægypt from Israel; all rests[1] in the heart.

96.

Our three-crown'd miters are but works of Spirit,
Faith, key and scepter; our ambition, love;

[1] Southey misprints 'rest' G.

Built upon grace we are, and thence inherit
Temptation, which in us doth purge and prove,
Mortifie, regenerate, sanctify and raise
Our old-fall'n Adam to new Adam's ways.

97.

This word of life, then, let not fleshly man
Corrupt and unregenerate expound;
As well the mortal judge the immortal can,
Or deafness find the discords out of sound,
Or creatures their Creator comprehend:
Which they presume that judge before they mend.

98.

Mixe not in functions God and Earth together;
The wisdom of the world and His are two;
One latitude can well agree to neither,
In each, men have their beings as they do:
The world doth build without, our God within;
He trafficks goodness, and she trafficks sin.

99.

Schools have their limits, wherein man prescribes;
What credit hopes Truth there, which contradicts?
States have their laws, all Churches have their tribes,

Where sin is ever strongest, and inflicts;
For man is judge, and force still wisdom there;
How can God thence expect a spiritual heir?

100.

But God's elect still humbly pass by these,
Make love their School, and scale of righteousness;
Which infinite those hearts desire to please,
While to the world they leave their wickedness;
Sect and division cannot here arise,
Where every man in God is only wise.

101.

Can it then be a doctrine of despair,
To use the words or councils of our God
As they stand in Him, though they seem severe?
Health of the chosen is the lost child's rod.
Though flesh cannot believe, yet God is true,
And onely known, where He creates anew.

102.

Things possible with man are yet in question;
God's pow'r, gifts, will, here faith's true bases be:
All mediums else are but the sin's suggestion,
The mover onely makes our nature free;
Faith and obedience He that asketh gives;
And without these God's Spirit never lives.

103.

Again, in this strange war, this wilderness,
These Egypt brick-kills, from our straw depriv'd,
God ever liveliest doth Himself express :
Help being here from heavenly pow'r deriv'd :
Affliction of the Spirit made man's true glass,
To shew him, God brings what He will to pass.

104.

Now in this fight, wherein the man despairs,
Between the sin and his regeneration ;
Faith upon credit never takes her heirs,
God's wonder in us works her adoration :
Who from the heaven sends His graces down,
To work the same obedience He will crown.

105.

This leads us to our Saviour, Who no more
Doth ask then[1] He enables us to do ;
The rest He frees, and takes upon His score;
Faith and obedience onely binds us to :
All other latitudes are flesh and devil,
To stain our knowledge and enlarge our evil.

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[1] Than, as before. G.

106.

Offer these truths to Pow'r, will she obey?
It prunes her pomp, perchance ploughs up the root;
It pride of tyrants' humors doth allay,
Makes God their Lord, and casts them at His foot;
This truth they cannot wave, yet will not do,
And fear to know because that binds them too.

107.

Shew these to Arts; those riddles of the sin
Which error first creates, and then inherits;
This light consumes those mists they flourish in,
At once deprives their glory and their merit;
Those mortal forms, moulded of humane error,
Dissolve themselves by looking in this mirror.

108.

Shew it to Laws; God's Law, the true foundation,
Proves how they build up Earth, and loose the Heaven;
Give things eternal, mortal limitation,
O're-ruling Him from whom their laws were given:

God's laws are right, just, wise, and so would make us,
Man's, captious, divers, false, and so they take us.

109,

Shew it the outward Church, strange speculation
For that hypocrisie to see the life;
They that sell God for earthly estimation,
Are here divorc't from that adulterous wife:
For this truth teacheth mankind to despise them,
While God more justly for His own denies them.

110.

Offer these truths to flesh; in general,
God in His power and truth they do confess;
But want of faith, that venome of their fall,
Despairs to undergo His righteousness;
They think God good, and so His mercy trust,
Yet hold good life impossible to dust.

111.

Onely that little flock,—God's own elect—
Who living in the world, yet of it are not;

God is the wealth, will, empire, they affect;[1]
His law, their wisdom; for the rest they care not;
Among all floods this ark is still preserv'd,
Storms of the world are for her own preserv'd.

112.

For their sake, God doth give restraining grace
To His seen Church, and to the heathen too;
Sets sin her latitude of time and place,
That onely she her own may still undoe;
And where the sin is free to all, as one,
He binds temptation to preserve His own.

113.

So as though still in wilderness they live,
As gone from Ægypt, suffer Israel's care;
Yet food and clothes that wear not out He gives;
Of them that hate them they preservèd are;
This grace restraining, bounds the hypocrites,
Whose ravine else might spoil the world of lights.

114.

Then, Man! rest on this feeling from above,
Plant thou thy faith on this celestial way;

[1] Aim at, desire, as before. G.

The world is made for use; God is for love;
Sorrow for sin; knowledge but to obey;
Fear and temptation to refine and prove;
The Heaven for joy; desire thou that it may
Find peace in endless, boundless, heavenly things;
Place it elsewhere, it desolation brings.

End of Vol. I.

CHARLES TIPLADY AND SON, PRINTERS, BLACKBURN.

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